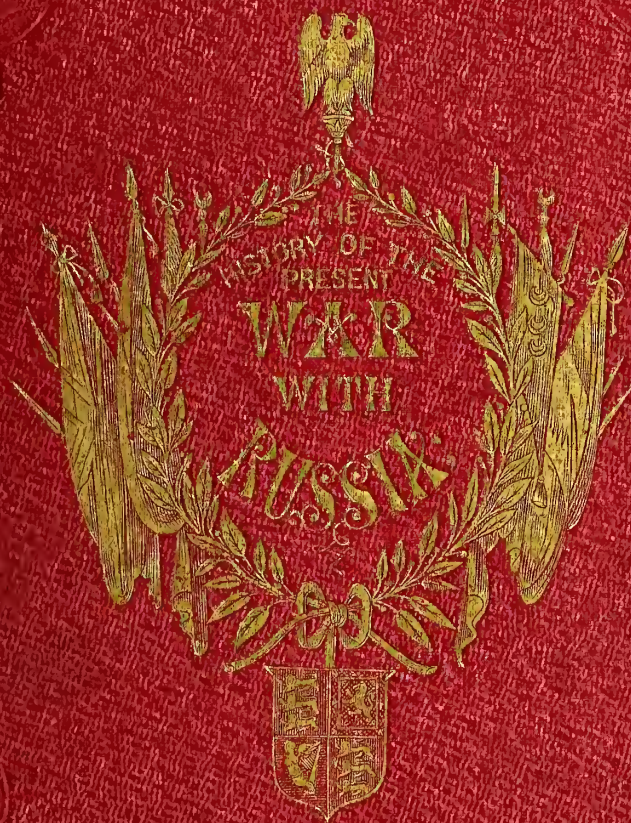




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GENERAL OF THE ARMY







THE HISTORY OF THE PRESENT

# WAR WITH RUSSIA:

GIVING FULL DETAILS OF THE

Operations of the Allied Armies

By Henry Tyrrell, Esq.

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REC'D  
BIBL. MAL.  
COLLEGE/



*The Battle of Balaclava, Nov. 5th 1854.*

Sir Colin Campbell, whose sword never failed him, rode at the head of his division, encouraging the men, and when a cry arose that the ammunition was failing he said coolly, "Have you not got your bayonets?"

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65366









GENERAL TAGLAP.









GENERAL CANROBERT.









ADMIRAL  
SIR EDWARD LYONS.  
COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH FLEET  
IN THE BLACK SEA.





CRIME



GENERAL SIR GEORGE BROWN.

THE BROWN PUBLISHING COMPANY









H. R. H.  
THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE,  
K. C. B.

*W. J. Smith del. et sculp.*





EARL OF CARDIGAN.

COMMANDER IN THE CELEBRATED CAVALRY CHARGE  
AT BALAKLAVA, OCT<sup>R</sup> 25 1854.

*Drawn & Engraved by L. J. Fox*









BRITISH LIGHT CAVALRY  
ATTACKING THE RUSSIAN GUNS AT THE  
BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA.

Oct. 6<sup>th</sup> 1854.





THE ZOUAVES ADVANCING TO  
THE ASSISTANCE OF THE BRITISH AT  
THE BATTLE OF INKERMANN.  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1854.

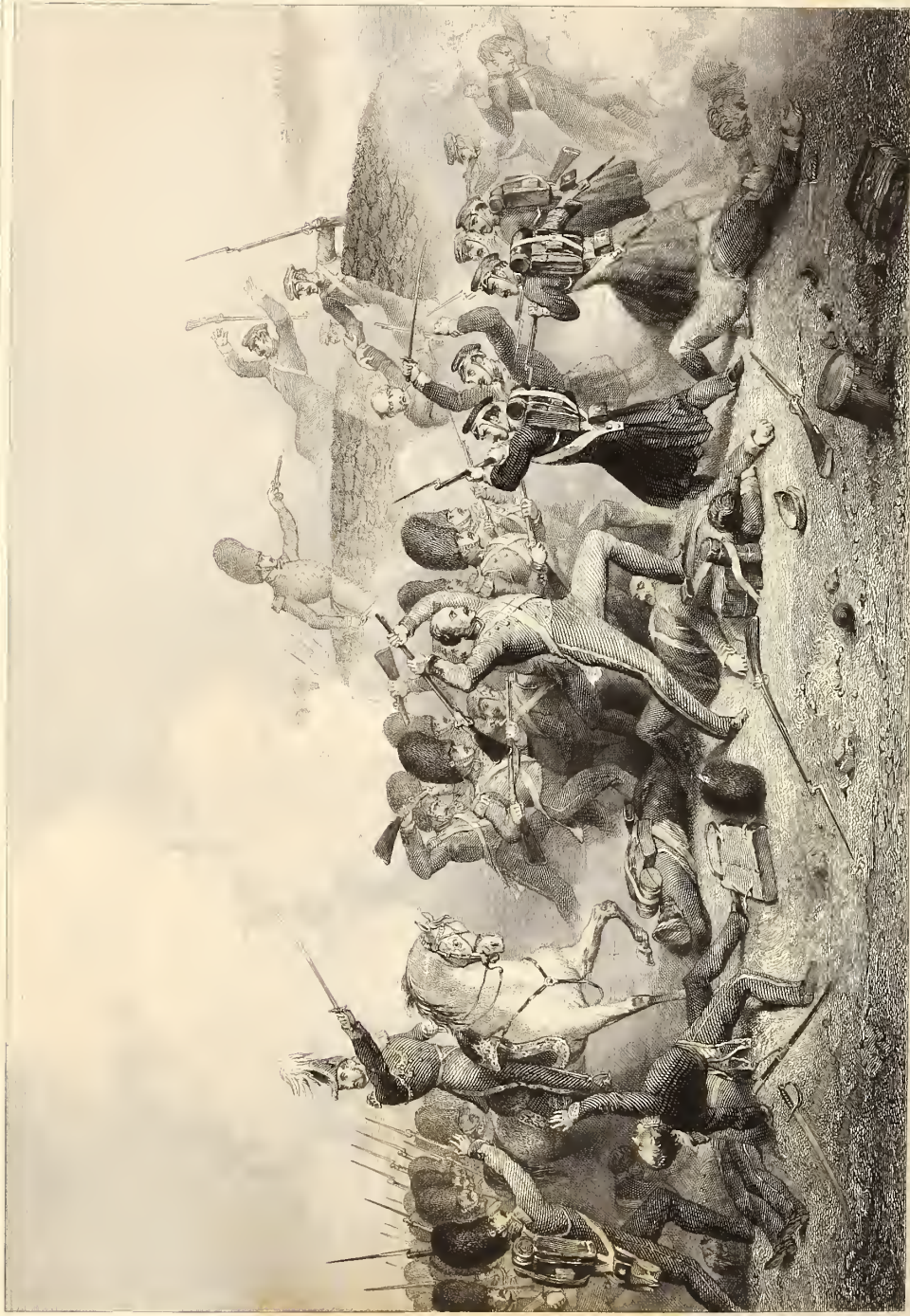
G. W. Turner

G. W. Turner









BATTLE  
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THE GUARDS RESISTING THE ATTACK ON THE 2 GUN REDOUBT.





THE BATTLE OF INKERMANN.





## P R E F A C E.

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THE title of a book often very slenderly indicates its contents, and frequently rather points to than describes them. Yet the reader who does not comprehend his author's plan and intention, may lose much of the benefit to be derived from a perusal of his labours. We propose, therefore, by a few prefatory observations, to trace faintly the track we are about to pursue.

The urgent necessity of a truthful record of the events now distracting Europe, will not be questioned by any reflective mind. We would fain, as far as lies in us, anticipate the labour and the verdict of posterity. We desire to blend into one united, intelligible whole, the facts in connection with the war which, one by one, have arisen, been discussed, and then turned from as some newer incident engrossed the mind of the nation. The history of the present time—of the hours that are now silently gliding by us, and fading, like spectres, into the venerable past—is of more importance to living Englishmen than the records of buried ages, and the recapitulation of the deeds of the illustrious dead. We look with reverence to the past: we shudder at its crimes, and applaud its virtues; but to those now living and treading their way forward with unsure footsteps in the great jarring world, the words and deeds of the living must be of the greatest moment. The period that most interests us is the eternal Now! The men we live amongst, and the great stream of events passing by us, are those by whom and by which our happiness are most affected. If we would act wisely, we must strive to understand the age in which we live, and the events by which we are surrounded.

The fable of the Sphinx is revived in these days, and converted into a reality. A great riddle is presented to Europe for solution. We behold the startling phenomenon of a new Crusade. Russia has provoked a great war, ostensibly in defence of the Cross against the Crescent; the true against the false. This pretension—subtle and rotten as it is—must be unveiled, not to statesmen alone, but to the whole world. Every Englishman, every Frenchman, must learn the history of the rise and progress of the war, as a necessary justification of the course he sanctions and upholds. The apathy of the careless must be broken up, for the exigencies of the time will not permit us to be superficial on this subject. To wage war in ignorance of the cause of it, is not only an error, but a crime; it is, in maniac wantonness, to drain the life-blood of thousands, and to scatter the wealth of nations to the winds; it is to paralyse the industry of Europe; and, with the armed hand of a blind power, to smite civilisation, and leave her prostrate and quivering in the dust.

There are some who, while inculcating the necessity of the people's instruction in history, have yet decried the study of politics. Why, what is politics but the history of the passing hour? What is political wisdom but the application of the wisdom derived from the past to the difficulties of the present? A study of modern history and of

## PREFACE.

politics, so far from being pernicious, is the safeguard of a nation. Ignorance on such subjects is the nurse of restlessness, irritation, and insurrection. An acquaintance with them tends, in times of national gloom and difficulty, to produce forbearance for the present and hope for the future. The mismanagement of the war has seriously impaired the effect of the noble heroism and endurance of our suffering troops. The old system of routine has broken down in action; the aristocracy have failed in their attempt exclusively to perform the work of the nation; and the mode of government by family statesmanship and narrow cliques, trembles to its foundation. The people of this great empire are awakened, and the time has arrived for unrecognised legislative or military genius to assert itself. The nation is in want of true and strong men—men powerful alike in mind and will. We miss the military and naval heroes who have adorned the pages of our history, and who now sleep in honour. The internal consequences to England of this war, promise to be as great as those that occur abroad. It has an intellectual influence upon the people, and will doubtless be the precursor of great and necessary reforms. A national self-examination is taking place, and it is felt that the basis of government must be widened, and the House of Commons fairly opened to the representatives of the people. The war of arms abroad is scarcely less exciting than the political war at home. A revolution of opinion is at hand, is even now taking place,—a constitutional and peaceful revolution, yet one that is searching, sweeping, and powerful—a revolution which has for its aim the task of tearing command in the state and in the field from feeble incapacity or unwillingness, and placing it in the hands of intellect and merit.

We shall relate, fully and impartially, all the conflicts that have taken place in connection with this great question;—wars abroad, and fierce contentions at home; the wild shocks and struggles, military and political; the patient and heroic endurance of our brave men in distant lands,—how they bore, unrepiningly, the terrible visitation of the blue, corpse-like, inexorable pest, cholera; how they died with the wish upon their lips that they had perished for their country on the battle-field; how their spirits rose when they sailed from Varna across the Euxine, to smite the aggressor on his own soil; how, on that dismal peninsula (for ever memorable in the records of European history), the soldiers of England and France fought side by side, and mingled their blood in its wild valleys and grassy tracts; how, by their heroic bravery, their impetuous charges, their adamantine endurance, their resistless valour, they swept the Russian hosts from the heights of Alma; how, at Balaklava, that devoted band of English cavalry, like the classic heroes of remote or mythic times, charged a Russian army, and sped forward like the lightning's flash upon fifty instruments of destruction, whose iron mouths poured out flame, and death, and mutilation; how, in the bloody valley of Inkermann (now the sepulchre of thousands, whose mangled remains moulder beneath its sod), the noble English, in cold, hunger, rain, and darkness, beat back the multitudinous Russians, until the arrival of the brave French upon the ground helped to decide the deadly conflict; how that storms, and bitter cold, and incessant toil, and want, and nakedness, and neglect, fell upon our poor and gallant army, and wrought on them that destruction the enemy could not effect;—how these things startled the English people (drawing from them tears of pity and bursts of anger), crushed a cabinet, produced a ministerial interregnum, and threatened a national convulsion.

All these things, and many more that we cannot now allude to, including the pro-



## PREFACE.

ceedings of our giant fleets in the Black Sea and in the Baltic—the insulting of the enemy's shores—the crippling of his commerce—the destruction of the grim fortress that frowned evilly upon Sweden—the coward skulking of the Russian fleets within their protected harbours—and the long, dreary siege of the almost impregnable Sebastopol: these matters, of deep interest to every English heart, will, we repeat, be related with truthful yet picturesque colouring, and stern impartiality. We need not give pledges for the truth of these assertions. We are of the people—attached to no party, not interested in the existence of any faction, but simply lovers of the truth and of our country. Standing apart from the struggles of the world, we strive to read and collect the lessons taught by them, and in some measure to make history the handmaid of philosophy.

From what we have already said, the reader will understand that, in these pages, we shall utter the truth in its simple majesty, even though that truth may not always be flattering and acceptable to the ears of the powerful, or the natural and pardonable vanity of our fellow-countrymen. Assuredly we shall do this, or we had better hold our peace. Outspoken fearlessness, and a sacred regard of truth, is our first obligation as a man, and our imperative duty as an historian. Yet shall we write in a hopeful and patriotic spirit. We shall record the defects and errors of our country with sorrow, while we proclaim her victories and triumphs with grateful joy. That, also, we recognise as a duty; for, though we regard all mankind as our fellow-creatures, yet we cannot forget that English blood runs in our veins. Our mind is cosmopolitan, but our heart is our country's. Whatever may be the failings of our statesmen, our generals, or our military system, we have a firm, enduring, ever-springing faith in the power and intelligence of our people at large. We believe in the happy and ascendant destiny of our country; we rely on the heroism, endurance, and perseverance of her children. Nursed in freedom, loving justice, detesting political hypocrisy, aggression, and despotism,—ready to succour the weak, and to defeat the unjust pretensions of the powerful; such a people, engaged in a righteous war, must eventually triumph. That they may do so is our dearest hope, our firmest faith. It is our trust that this wild storm of war, which counts its sacrifices by hundreds of thousands—which absorbs the treasures of Europe, and threatens the tranquillity of the world, may lead to a speedy peace,—to peace, that

“Dear nurse of arts, plenties, and joyful births:”

to a peace, just in itself, and lasting in its nature. We trust that it may strengthen the bonds which unite nations, and promote the rational liberties of Europe. We trust that it may stagger the dangerous power of a vast semi-barbarous empire, and teach the future Czars of Russia to respect the weak, that they may not arouse the indignation and hostility of the strong. The severity of the struggle is like a thunder-storm on a summer's night—it clears the air.

On the restoration of peace, Russia will have learnt to know and respect the power of combined Europe. Dangerous, indeed, has been the policy of the great empire of the North. In the time of Peter the Great, the frontier of the Russian territory was formed by the River Dnieper; in 1774, it was extended to the banks of the Bug; in 1792, it stretched to the Dniester; in 1812, to the Pruth; and in 1829, the line was made to include the mouths of the Danube. If, in 1853, England and France had permitted further aggression, the two-headed eagle of Russia would have displaced the silver

## PREFACE.

Crescent, and waved in unholy triumph on the waters of the Bosphorus, and over the gilded minarets of Constantinople.

For a long period Turkey has possessed but a sickly and spasmodic life. Since the battle of Navarino, it has existed only by the forbearance and through the protection of Europe, because it was well known that its extinction would leave a dangerous void in the community of states on that famous continent. The difficulty is one which time must solve, and which, we trust, it will solve gently. The late Czar would have violently settled it at once by seizing the richest portion of the possessions of "the sick man," and thus brought about his dissolution. The preponderance of power which such an act would give to Russia, considered in connection with her known crafty and aggressive policy, would have destroyed the balance of power in Europe, and endangered its peace and independence. France and England united to succour Turkey, and thus to prevent so alarming a result; and notwithstanding the equivocal attitude and apathetic conduct of those great German states most interested in reducing the towering might of Russia, they will prevent it, though at the sad cost of the blood of thousands and tens of thousands of the bravest of their sons. The sophisms of the Czar Nicholas have been exposed; the hypocritical fraud he would have perpetrated in grasping at the defence of the interests of religion as a cloak for his godless ambition, has been held aloft to the withering scorn of Europe; and speedily, we trust, Russia will have received that wholesome check which is necessary for the welfare of the civilised world.

Still the result of the war with respect to the Ottoman empire can be but guessed at, and seen as through a glass darkly; its final settlement is an event of the future,—an act which will be related by some perhaps yet unborn historian. If the allies are as triumphant as all just men wish them to be, still it is to be feared that the internal condition of Turkey will remain the same. Her superstition, her apathy, her stagnant commerce, the decline of her population, and the prevalence of her nameless vices,—all tend to drag her down, and to unbind the bonds of empire from the petty states of which she is composed. It has been truly observed, that a state may be protected against violence, but not against decomposition. The greatest enemies of the Ottomans are themselves. We have but one hope that Turkey may yet renew its youth and regain something of its departed strength and greatness; that is, if the connection of its subjects with France and England stimulates them into renewed activity, and implants in them a desire for extended commerce, and for turning to account the many prolific sources of prosperity contained in their rich, uncultivated lands, and in the hidden treasures of their unworked mines.

Here we draw our prefatory remarks to a close. We have expressed a settled conviction that it is the duty of all lovers of their country—a duty for the discharge of which they will reap an abundant intellectual reward—to make themselves familiar with the history of the causes and progress of this great war; and we would now fain say a word on the claims our own literary labours on the subject have to public attention. Modesty fetters us in this direction; yet, we may honestly assert, that if unwearied industry in the collection of facts, prolonged reflection in the arrangement of them into historic proportion, added to an attempt to draw from them such philosophic teachings as may benefit humanity, give us a claim upon the attention of our countrymen, that we shall have no cause to complain of a want of public appreciation and patronage.



# THE HISTORY OF THE PRESENT WAR WITH RUSSIA.

## INTRODUCTORY REFLECTIONS.

“Before mine eyes thou hast set, and in mine ear  
Vented much policy, and projects deep  
Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues.”—*Paradise Regained.*

ENGLAND is engaged in a struggle of paramount importance and of engrossing interest. After nearly forty years of peace, it has entered on a war which threatens eventually to involve all Europe in hostilities. But the question is of still larger import: for if the interests of Europe are involved in it, the destinies and future condition of Asia actually depend upon its solution. The might of Russia, growing with a startling rapidity, and ever exercised in the extension of its vast dominions, has for a long period created uneasiness in the cabinets of Europe. Russia is essentially a military power, and aggression on the territory of its weaker neighbours is coeval with its history as an empire. The designs of its rulers upon the possessions of the Ottoman, have descended from one sovereign to another as a sort of political heirloom. The conquest of Turkey, by fraud or by force, or by a combination of both, was a matter never to be lost sight of by its princes, until opportunity should serve for its accomplishment.

The Russian empire, with its enormous territorial possessions both in Europe and in Asia, and its rapidly increasing population, is a dangerous neighbour to adjacent kingdoms. It smote Sweden, engulfed the Crimea, seized on Finland, and first divided, and then extinguished, bleeding and quivering Poland. The late czar, intoxicated by the possession of despotic power in his own dominions, gave way to a wild Napoleonic dream of universal empire. His design upon the territory of the sultan, fortunately discovered before the opportunity was ripe for its execution, made the nations inquire—what would Russia be if her subtle despot succeeded in ac-

quiring another territory almost as large, and infinitely more fertile, than his own? If he became lord of the East, would the freedom of the West long repose in security? With Constantinople in his grasp, the independence of Prussia and of Austria would have cause to tremble. Not only would the balance of power between the great European states be destroyed, but many politicians feared that the liberties of nations might be torn up by the roots, or washed away in crimson seas of blood. The prospect, however remote, was an awful one. In the judgment of the statesmen into whose hands England had at that time trusted its national honour and freedom, there was but one alternative. A solemn one, it is true; an alternative between national humiliation on the one hand, and on the other, a decision which has painfully taxed the endurance and self-denial of Englishmen, and led to a frightful loss of life and treasure. In a word, war, or submission to the aggressive designs of a barbarous power, and the possibility of beholding the independence of Europe trodden beneath the feet of the Cossacks. It was feared that, unless the allied powers of France and England raised a hand of iron against the encroachments of Russia, and forbade its progress with the roar of cannon and the dread crash of war, another generation might behold the sight to which we have alluded. The Russian empire, made stronger by success, and bolder by additional conquests, might—

“————— be like a tree  
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth;  
Or as a stone that shall to pieces dash  
All monarchies besides throughout the world.”

The question of the war is a complicated



one. "Three centuries ago," said an able writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, "the first vow of Christian statesmen was the expulsion of the Turks from the city of Constantinople, and the deliverance of Europe from the scourge and terror of the infidel. In the present age, the absorbing desire of the same cabinets is to maintain the mis-believers in their settlements; and to postpone, by all known expedients of diplomacy and menace, the hour at which the Crescent must again give place to the Cross." The reasons for this political paradox will become apparent to those who peruse our introductory chapters on Turkey and Russia. A glance—swift and sweeping—of the history of the past is necessary to a justification of the belligerent powers of Europe in the present. Many people, indeed, are surprised, if not shocked, at our alliance with a Mohammedan power against a Christian one. Some have regarded the association as unnatural, and the war as uncalled-for and unnecessary. Statesmen of unquestioned reputation, and long experience of European politics, have concurred in the latter censure. Earl Grey blamed the Aberdeen ministry for allowing itself to be drawn into the quarrel between Russia and the Porte. "I agree," exclaimed the earl, "in all that has been said in condemnation of the conduct of Russia towards Turkey in this case; but it does not follow, because Russia has done wrong, that it was expedient or proper for us to undertake the defence of Turkey. It is no part of our duty as a nation, to undertake (like knight-errants of old) the general redress of grievances, and to protect every weak state which may be oppressed by a more powerful neighbour. We have no business to interfere in the disputes of other nations, unless we are called upon to do so, either by some engagement which we have contracted, or by some great interests of our own which are involved."

The noble earl added, that it was universally admitted that we were not bound by any treaty to assist Turkey, and that an enlightened regard for our interests counselled us to abstain from interference. He also considered the prevalent apprehension of Russia to be a delusion. "A nation of slaves," he truly exclaimed, "never can have the energy, intelligence, or wealth of a nation of freemen: and, in modern war,

it is not the mere brute strength of so many millions of men which is really effective; intelligence and wealth enter into the conflict more effectually than mere numbers; and that is becoming more apparent every day."

These observations were entitled to serious consideration, and are so still. They should be employed to temper any extravagance of feeling that may exist on the part of the nation. Yet we conceive England is justified—and more than justified—in taking the belligerent position it has assumed. Assuredly the interests of the British empire are involved in the present question, and must ever be concerned in every question which threatens to overturn the equilibrium and peace of Europe. Our sympathies are not strongly enlisted in favour of the Turks: the affair is less one of Turkey than of Russia; and the former must be supported, unless Europe is willing that it shall fall a prey to the latter. Such an event as that, or even a near approach to it, must be regarded as a step which casts an ominous shadow over the tranquillity and civilisation of Europe. The war certainly might have been deferred; but there is every reason to believe, that if we had deferred it, the struggle would have fallen with increased severity upon our children. Evils that are evaded instead of being wrestled with, ever return with a more alarming aspect. The weak tremble in the presence of danger, the strong glare defiance at it." Though tyranny and violence will assail "the sick man," they are abashed in the presence of the armed, strong man, "who keepeth his house as a castle." It is better to strike a distant foe with a sense of respect for our power, than to wait until our immediate interests are assailed, our naval supremacy disputed, or our territory invaded. At present Russia is but as a youth among the ancient and civilised nations of Europe; and the powerful allies who have drawn the sword against it, are engaged in a necessary strife to prevent its manhood from becoming dangerous. Freedom forbid that any power should rise paramount in Europe, and reduce the other nations to dependence upon it! But, if such a calamity ever should befall the world, let us trust that such dominant power may be the most civilised and liberal—not the most barbarous and despotic.

## CHAPTER I.

## TURKEY—ITS EXTENT, NATURE, AND POPULATION.

THE dominions of Turkey comprise a portion of three-quarters of the earth—Europe, Asia, and Africa. Altogether, it is estimated to contain 35,000,000 inhabitants, and to embrace a surface of upwards of 600,000 square miles. The subjects of the Turkish empire consist of many nations and races. According to the census of 1844, there were—Ottomans or Turks, 12,950,000; Greeks, 2,000,000; Armenians, 2,400,000; Jews, 150,000; Slavonians, 6,200,000; Roumani, 4,000,000; Albanians, 1,450,000; Tartars, 66,000; Arabs, 4,700,000; Syrians and Chaldæans, 250,000; Druses, 30,000; Kurds, 1,000,000; Thurcomans, 90,000; Gypsies, 214,000: making a total of 35,500,000.

TURKEY IN EUROPE is 910 miles in length, 760 in breadth, and contains 182,560 square miles. It is situated between 16° and 32° east longitude, and between 36° and 49° north latitude; is bounded on the north by Russia, Buckovina, Transylvania, and Slavonia; on the east by Little Tartary, the Black Sea, Marmora, the Hellespont, and the Archipelago; on the south by the Mediterranean; and on the west by the same sea and the Austrian dominions. The Turkish empire is divided into *ejalets* or *eyalets*—that is, large provinces; in the same manner as England is divided into counties. European Turkey contains fifteen of these *ejalets*.

TURKEY IN ASIA is 1,120 miles in length, 1,010 in breadth, and contains 470,400 square miles: it is situated between 26° and 45° east longitude, and between 28° and 44° north latitude; is bounded on the north by the Black Sea and Circassia; on the east by Persia; on the south by Arabia and the Levant; and on the west by the Archipelago, the Hellespont, and the Sea of Marmora. It is divided into eighteen *ejalets*.

TURKEY IN AFRICA contains only three *ejalets*; namely—Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis. Algiers was also a Turkish province; but it now belongs to the French, though the sovereignty has never been ceded to that nation by the sultan.

Constantinople (formerly called Byzantium, and then the chief city of that moiety

of imperial Rome familiar to us as the Empire of the East) is the Turkish capital. It is situated on the banks of the Bosphorus, between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora, on the verge of the narrow channel separating Europe from Asia, and is considered one of the finest harbours in the world. It is the residence of the sultan, the mufti, the ministers, and of all the dignitaries of the empire. The city is built upon an undulating declivity, and three-fourths of it face the sea. Seen from a little distance, it presents a noble and beautiful appearance. Its mosques, cupolas, and minarets, interspersed with dark waving cypresses and gaily-painted houses, surrounded by luxuriant gardens containing mulberry, acacia, palm, and fig-trees, together with the placid sunlit sea, on which ride thousands of vessels and gondolas, produce an effect not to be seen in any other city in the world. On entering Constantinople, however, you see the reverse of the picture. Internally, it consists chiefly of a labyrinth of crooked, ill-paved, and dirty lanes, and a crowd of low-built and small houses, formed of wood or roughly-hewn stone. The streets are cleared of filth and offal by an immense number of dogs, which constantly parade them, and act as scavengers. Constantinople contains fourteen imperial mosques, and 332 others; 183 hospitals, thirty-six Christian churches, several synagogues, 130 public baths, 500 fountains, and eighty bazaars. The extreme point of the city is occupied by the *seraglio*, or private domain of the sultan, which comprises an area of about three miles in circuit. Within it are the *divan*, the hall of justice, the arsenal, and all the state-offices. The court is entered from the city by a large and heavy gate, called the *Porte*, a name which has thence been applied to the *divan* of the Turkish sultan. It was an ancient custom of eastern monarchs, when administering justice, to sit, as the scriptural expression runs, “at the gate.” The term “gate” thus became synonymous with court or office; and for the sake of distinction, the sultan’s court was called the *Exalted* or *Lofty Gate*. This phrase, in the transla-



tions of the Dragomans, who were mostly Italians, became *La Porta Sublime*, whence the title of the *Sublime Porte*. Scutari, situated on the Asiatic shore, and just opposite to Constantinople, is regarded as a suburb of that city; so also is Pera, on the European side. The harbour of Constantinople, called "The Golden Horn," is so constructed, that ships may anchor close to the houses.

It is necessary also to mention the other principal cities and towns in European Turkey. Adrianople is the second metropolis of the empire, and possesses 160,000 inhabitants, of whom about one-half are Turks; the other, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. Still Adrianople is considered the most essentially Turkish town in the empire. It is beautifully situated on the Maritza river, in the centre of a country possessing great natural wealth. Around it is Tschirmen, with 8,000 inhabitants; Dschir Mustapha, on the banks of the river Maritza, with 200 inhabitants; Demotika, with 15,000 inhabitants, and the seat of a Greek archbishopric; Kirkhilissi, with 16,000 inhabitants; Burgas, a little town on the Black Sea, containing only 7,000 inhabitants, but possessed of a harbour, which renders it important in time of war.

In the interior of Roumelia (that division of the empire containing Constantinople) is the large town of Philippoli, containing 80,000 inhabitants, and important manufactures of silk, cloth, and cotton: also the towns of Tatar-Basardschick, with 10,000 inhabitants; Eski-Sagra, near the Balkan Mountains, with 20,000 inhabitants; Kasanlik, at the foot of the Balkan, with 10,000 inhabitants; Selimnia, situated near that important pass of the Balkan called Demir-Kapu, or the Iron Gate, containing 20,000 inhabitants, a considerable manufactory of arms, and one of the most important fairs of the empire; Urudschowa, possessing an important fair and a considerable trade; and Enoss, a port with 7,000 inhabitants.

Gallipoli, now rendered famous by the present contest, is also situated in this important province. It stands on the peninsular of Gallipoli, at the entrance of the Dardanelles, across which the ancient poets tell us that the love-inspired Leander swam, night after night, to meet the beautiful priestess of Venus. It has a harbour, an extensive trade, a victualling magazine for the supply of the Ottoman fleet, and 70,000 inhabitants.

Kilid-Bahr, the most important fortress on the European side of the Dardanelles, has 155 cannons; the opposite fortress, Sultani-Kalcssi, in Asia, has 196 cannons. The batteries on the European shores number 332 cannons and four mortars; those on the Asiatic coast have 814 cannon and four mortars: making, together, 1,497 cannons and eight mortars.

Rodesto is a flourishing commercial town, and the residence of a Greek archbishop. It contains 35,000 inhabitants.

The principal town in Macedonia is Salonica, its capital, which possesses a very imposing appearance, with its domes and monuments, and is second only to Constantinople in commercial importance. The others are Sedes, a village possessing mineral baths; Jenidsche-Vardar, a town with 6,000 inhabitants; Karaferia, a manufacturing town with 20,000 inhabitants; Vodina (the ancient Odessa), containing 12,000 inhabitants; and Seres, with 30,000 inhabitants. Near to the latter is Mount Athos, which has sixteen monasteries, and more than 300 chapels, cells, and grottos, containing as many as 4,000 monks.

Thessaly is a mountainous region with deep valleys, such as Tempe, and plains that appear like dried-up lakes. Its capital is Larissa, containing a population of 20,000. It is the residence of a Greek archbishop.

Albania is a picturesque region, and has been the theatre of incessant revolutions, in consequence of its having been divided into several independent pachalics. Much of it is only nominally dependent upon the Porte. The Albanians mostly profess to be Christians of the Greek or Roman churches; but many of them are Mohammedans. In the north and on the table-lands, maize and potatoes are grown. Smoked mutton, sheepskins, wool, cheese, tallow, bacon, wax, and live-stock are sent to Cattaro in return for wine, spirits, salt, oil, iron, and manufactured goods. The climate is exceedingly beautiful, though very hot in the summer; but destructive storms are frequent in the south. The olive, orange, and citron thrive in the maritime plains of Albania. Its chief town is Janina, a meanly-built place, with a population of 36,000 inhabitants. Its principal edifice is the fortress, containing the palace of the pacha. Mezzova, Delvino, Suli and Paramithia, Argyrocastro, Ochrida, Dukagin, Perserendi, Alessio, Croja, Dulcigno, Antivari, and Scutari are the other important towns. The latter is a wealthy



and flourishing town, containing about 40,000 inhabitants. Immediately adjacent is a lofty height, crowned by a citadel, and containing the residence of the governor, with an arsenal and barracks. Scutari has a large bazaar, many mosques, Greek and Roman Catholic churches, several bridges, yards for building coasting-vessels, and manufactories of cotton goods and fire-arms.

Bosnia is a partially mountainous district, and the soil is in general not very well suited for cultivation, except in the valley of the Save. On the north slopes of the Dinaric Alps are extensive forests, yielding valuable timber; and the pasturage is excellent. The mountains contain mines of gold, silver, mercury, lead, and iron; but the government only permit the working of the two latter. Bosnia-Serai, the capital, has 70,000 inhabitants, and a considerable trade; indeed it is one of the principal industrial towns of Turkey. The other most important towns are Travnik, Vraduk, and Maglai, Zivornik, Mostar or Monastir, Bihaez, Novi, Jaicza, Banjaluka, Derbir, Livno, and Trebinje.

Servia is a mountainous province, in many parts densely wooded, and interspersed with numerous fertile valleys. The vine is cultivated, but the people make but indifferent wine. Hemp, flax, tobacco, and cotton are also reared. Ten millions of hogs, fed upon acorns in the grand old oak forests, are annually exported. Valuable mines are to be found; but few, if any of them, are wrought. Belgrade, its capital, is an important fortified city on the right bank of that noble river, the Danube. The city had formerly quite an oriental appearance; but it is now almost abandoned by wealthy Turks: churches are taking the place of mosques, and new buildings are being constructed after the German fashion. Servia was conquered by the Turks, and annexed to the Ottoman empire in the year 1385. The Servians are descendants of the ancient Slavonians, and are described as a high-spirited and majestic people.

Bulgaria is a province of some interest, as it is only separated from the Danubian principalities by the broad waters of the Danube. It is subdivided into the pachalics of Widdin, Varna, Silistria, and Sophia, besides which it comprises the towns of Nicopolis, Rustchuk, Sistova, Shumla, Babatag, Kustendje, &c. From the seventh century till 1018, and again, from 1196 till the middle of the fourteenth century, Bulgaria formed an independent kingdom; it then became subject to Hungary, and was finally conquered by

the Turks in 1392. Varna, its capital, is a fortified port on the shore of the Black Sea, and one of the best on that coast. Bulgaria is generally well wooded, and abounds in rich pasturage; its inhabitants are mostly attached to the Greek church, and are a very industrious people.

Moldavia and Wallachia, the Danubian principalities, are Turkish provinces according to the map; but although dependent on the Porte, still they are governed by their own hospodars or princees, and, upon payment of an annual tribute to the sultan, enjoy perfect freedom of internal administration. In this condition they have remained, overshadowed on one side by Russia, and on the other by Turkey, and retained their limited independence for above 300 years. The yearly tribute which Moldavia pays to the Porte is 1,000,000 of piastres, or £10,250; that of Wallachia is double the sum. This tribute was confiscated by the Russians, to pay themselves for their late military occupation of those provinces. Let us relate a few particulars concerning these now interesting districts.

Moldavia is bounded, east and north, by the river Pruth, which separates it from Russia; south by Wallachia and the Danube, which separates it from Bulgaria; and west by the Austrian empire: it comprises 17,020 square miles, and contains 1,400,000 inhabitants. With the exception of a considerable number of Jews and Gypsies, they are followers of the Greek or Roman Catholic churches. The country is covered with vast forests and pasture lands, on which great numbers of horses and cattle are reared. In summer the heat is very great; and the soil produces grain, fruits, and vines in great abundance. Jassy, the capital, is the seat of a Greek archbishop, and the residence of the foreign consuls.

Wallachia is bounded on the south-east, south, and south-west by the Danube, which separates it from Bulgaria and Servia, and on the north by Moldavia and the Austrian empire: it contains a surface of 27,500 square miles, and a population amounting to 2,600,000 inhabitants. It is well watered, and generally very fertile; but the greatest part remains uncultivated. The chief crops are wheat, maize, barley, rye, hemp, tobacco, and vines. It has immense forests and fine pasture-lands, on which cattle and sheep are extensively reared. The climate is hot and moist in the summer, and extremely cold in the winter. The inhabitants are chiefly

Wallachians; but a mixture of Gypsies, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians reside amongst them. They are adherents of the Greek church, and speak a corrupt dialect of the Latin language. Bucharest, the capital, bears some resemblance to a large village; for the houses are surrounded by gardens; but it is badly paved, badly built, and very dirty: it possesses ninety-five churches, a foundling, and six other hospitals, a college, a museum, and a public library. It is the *entrepôt* for the commerce between Austria and Turkey.

The climate of European Turkey is mostly temperate, and well adapted to the activity and perfect development of the human race. Extreme cold, however, prevails during winter; and in the recesses of the highest mountains, the snow lies the greatest part of the year. With a more active population, the most prolific parts of Turkey might become the paradise of Europe. It is diversified by mountains, valleys, forests, plains, rivers, and arms of the sea. Its chief river is the Danube, which (including its many windings) is 1,725 miles in length: with the exception of the Volga, it is the largest in Europe. Its principal mountains are the Balkan, the Hellenic, the Acroceramian, and the Dinaric Alps. Some of these mountain-ranges are covered with noble forests, and abound in deep ravines and wild romantic scenery. The Balkan is an important chain, extending from the plain of Sophia to Cape Emineh, on the Black Sea. The summits of many of its peaks are covered with grass and fruit-trees. The deep and narrow gorges permit of paths difficult even for beasts of burden.

Agriculture, in Turkey, is conducted in a very rude and imperfect manner, and the greatest part of the country is forest and waste land. The principal wild animals are the brown bear, the wolf, the wild boar, the chamois, the stag, and the hare. The buffalo is common in some parts of Turkey; and cattle are reared very extensively. The horses are small, but active. Goats are more abundant in Turkey than in any other country in Europe. Fish are plentiful in the rivers, and leaches (which abound in the marshes) form an important article of export. Turkey has valuable mines, but none of them are worked to advantage. Its manufactures comprise saddles, copper and tin utensils, fire-arms, swords, coarse woollen cloths, linen and cotton spinning. Shawls are made only in the Asiatic provinces, especially at Damascus. The carpets of

Turkey have become famous; they are wrought by hand in the style of the Gobelin tapestry, and are largely manufactured in Bulgaria and Servia. The women of the south are also very expert at embroidery. Cotton-printing works exist in some localities. Tanneries are numerous; and establishments for the distillation of brandy from prunes are common throughout the country.

We have spoken thus fully of European Turkey, because some brief knowledge of it is necessary to the comprehension of the war of which it is at present the theatre. Turkey in Asia we shall dismiss in a few words; the more so, as the sovereignty of the sultan is so much weakened in that quarter, as to be little more than nominal. It includes Asia-Minor (Anatolia, Karamania, and Rum-ili, Trebisonde, Marash, Adona, &c.), Syria and Palestine, Armenia, Kaizik, Kars, Al-Jezeerah or Mesopotamia, Koordistan, and Irak-Arabi. The population of Asiatic Turkey has been estimated at 20,922,900; of these, not more than 6,000,000 are actually subject to the Ottoman government. On the shores of the Black Sea, Turkey has some valuable ports, amongst which is Sinope, the scene of a recent tragedy, which we shall shortly relate.

Amongst the chief towns or cities of Asiatic Turkey are Bagdad, Aleppo, Tripoli, Akre or St. Jean d'Acre, Damascus, and Jerusalem. The interest attaching to this celebrated and sacred city, and its connexion with the original cause of the war now waging against Russian aggression in the East, demand a few words of brief description. The modern city is about two miles and-a-half in circumference, and surrounded by stately walls of hewn stone. Its population does not exceed 40,000 inhabitants, most of whom are extremely poor. All its public buildings are of a religious character. Amongst them is the gorgeous church of the Holy Sepulchre, erected by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, over the reputed site of the sepulchre of the Saviour. The church of St. Anna, and the supposed birth-place of the Virgin Mary, on Mount Bezetha; the elegant mosque of Omar, or "dome of the rock;" and the mosque of El Aksa, also attract attention. Outside the walls of Jerusalem, to the north lie the Mohammedan cemeteries and the edifices known as "the tombs of the kings and the judges:" to the east, in the valley of Jehosphat, are numerous other tombs, together



with the garden of Gethsemane, beyond which rises the Mount of Olives.

At the period of its almost total destruction by Titus, A.D. 70, Jerusalem was regarded as the most famous city of the whole East. In 135, the Jews were finally dispersed, and the city rebuilt by Adrian. It was subsequently captured by the Persians,

in 614; by the Saracens, in 637; and by the Crusaders, in 1099. After the lapse of eighty-eight years it was again taken by the Saracens, and has since (except for a short time in 1832) remained subject to the Turkish government. An account of the Ottoman territories in Africa is unnecessary, and would lead us from our subject.

#### HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY.

TRADITION tells us that Turk, a mighty king, dwelling in Central Asia in the time of Abraham, is the common ancestor of all the Turkish races.

The kingdom was first founded by Seljuk, who lived towards the end of the fourth century. The Seljukians were a fierce, war-like people, who made an irruption into the territories of Byzantine Asia, and succeeded in establishing themselves in Asia Minor. They even fixed their capital at Nice, within a short distance of Constantinople. It was against these barbarians that the efforts of the early Crusaders were directed. Satisfied, however, with their Asiatic acquisitions, these Seljukian Turks never ventured into Europe. Their monarchy was overwhelmed and destroyed in 1307, by the tremendous irruptions of the Mogul conqueror, Zingis Khan.

The present Turkish empire was founded not long after the destruction of the first, by Osman, or Othman, who is the ancestor of the reigning dynasty, to which he has given his name. That name is a native epithet for the royal vulture, and signifies a bone-breaker. We presume it was agreeable to the fierce nature of the Turks; for it was accepted and retained by them as symbolical of their national character.

OTHMAN, after a reign of twenty-seven years, spent in aggressions on the dominions of his neighbours, died in 1326. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

URCHAN began to reign in 1326. Like his father, he was distinguished by his military prowess and his conquests. He also established some important military and political institutions. Amongst these was the formation of a standing army out of a body of Christian children, forcibly converted to the faith of Mahomet. They were called *Jani-tcheri*, or the new troop, a term which has been corrupted by Europeans into Janizaries. These new troops

soon became very famous, and decided the victory at the battle of Philocrene, where the Emperor Andronicus the Younger was defeated by Urchan,—driven for shelter across the Bosphorus, and compelled to surrender his conquered provinces in Asia. Urchan crossed the Bosphorus with a powerful body of troops, and was the first Turkish sultan who set his foot on the soil of Europe. The Grecian emperor, John Cantacuzemus, bought his forbearance by bestowing his daughter on the barbarian. Notwithstanding this, he afterwards effected the conquest of Gallipoli.

MURAD, or Amurad, or Amurath the First, succeeded his father in 1360. His military triumphs obtained for him the title of Lord and Conqueror. He transferred the seat of his empire from Broussa to Adrianople, in Thrace, and devoted himself to the extension of his father's European conquests. Lazarus, the King of Servia, attacked the Turkish dominions with an enormous army, but was utterly defeated by Amurath. The latter, however, was stabbed to the heart in the very hour of triumph by a Servian nobleman, who approached him under pretence of kissing the feet of his victor.

BAJAZET succeeded in 1389, and for the rapidity of his movements, and the impetuosity of his charges, obtained the surname of Ilderim, or the Lightning. He successfully pursued the career of conquest marked out by his ancestors. He ordered his younger brother Yakub to be put to death, and excused his cruelty by a passage from the Koran, which says that death is better than uproar. The imitation of this crime afterwards came to be regarded as a sort of state-necessity in Turkey. Bajazet laid siege to Constantinople, but failed in his attempt upon it: he defeated Sigismund, King of Hungary; but the victory was purchased by the loss of 60,000



Turks, who were left dead upon the field. In revenge, Bajazet massacred 10,000 Christian captives. After a savage career, he was defeated by the famous Tartar prince Tamerlane, or Timur—that is, Iron—and died in captivity, in 1403. Some say that his barbarous conqueror kept him in an iron cage, in which he perished. An interregnum of ten years succeeded.

MAHOMMED THE FIRST ascended the throne in 1413. He was gifted with beauty, strength, courage, and talents, and obtained from his subjects the title of Kurishji Chelbi, or the Gentleman. In 1421, he paid a visit to the Emperor Manuel, in Constantinople, and was received with extraordinary splendour. He died the same year, leaving to his son an empire of greater extent than he had received from his father, Bajazet.

AMURATH THE SECOND took possession of the throne in 1421. Amongst other military exploits, he laid siege to Constantinople; but the Turks were eventually compelled to raise the siege. Unlike his predecessors, he was a lover of peace and philosophical studies, and twice renounced the throne in favour of his son; but was recalled to it by events which demanded his energy and ability. Amurath became engaged in a quarrel with Ladislaus, the King of Hungary, by whom the Turks were defeated at Missa, in 1443. The following year the war was renewed, the Turks were victorious, and Ladislaus slain.

MAHOMMED THE SECOND began to reign in 1451. He may be regarded as the founder of the Ottoman empire in Europe, and with him commences that part of Turkish history which is called modern. He attacked Constantinople with an army of 250,000 men, and a fleet of 450 vessels. Such a power was irresistible, and on the 29th of May, 1453, the last of the Greek emperors, Constantine Palæologus perished under the swords of the Janizaries, the ancient empire of the East was overturned, Constantinople became the capital of the sultan, and Turkey an European power. "This event," says an able writer, "delivered over to a state, which already wanted little but a seat of central power, one of the oldest and most famous capitals of Europe. It gave to the house of Othman, in a single day, exactly the *status* which it needed, and which years of successful invasions and forays would have failed to secure." Mahommed obtained the surname of the Conqueror, a title which well described him; for during his military reign,

he subdued two empires, fourteen kingdoms, and 200 cities. He died in 1481, after having made the Ottoman empire one of the most powerful in the world.

BAJAZET THE SECOND ascended the regal seat of the Ottomans in 1481. His reign was distracted by foreign wars and domestic rebellions. His brother, whose life, in defiance of the usual practice of the Turkish sovereigns, he had spared, rose against him. A long civil war ensued, which terminated by the flight of Zizimus to Italy, where he was poisoned by Pope Alexander the Sixth. During the latter part of the life of Bajazet, his youngest son, Selim, headed a rebellion against him. The unhappy father was compelled to resign the empire, and died soon afterwards of grief or poison.

SELIM THE FIRST became sultan in 1512. His brief reign is distinguished by his victories and cruelty. Remembering his own conduct to his father, he put to death his two brothers, and five of his nephews. He defeated Ismail, the Shah of Persia, and took Tabriz. He conquered Alá-ed-dewlet, and annexed Armenia, Kurdistan, Syria, and Karamenia to the Turkish empire. His third conquest was that of Egypt, the sultan of which he caused to be hanged. On returning to Constantinople, he brought with him 1,000 camels, laden with the spoil. Like most cruel men, he was very intolerant, and resolved to put to death all the Christians who would not adopt the Mohammedan religion. From this savage scheme he was diverted by his ministers, who implored him not to violate the Koran, which commands toleration to all non-believers who are quiet subjects. His death was caused by his excessive use of opium.

SOLYMAN THE FIRST, called the Great or Magnificent, began to rule in 1520. He is regarded as the most illustrious of the sultans of Turkey, and by his conquests and wisdom, raised it to the summit of its power. In the second year of his reign he captured Belgrade, the key of Hungary. He afterwards repeatedly invaded the territories of that kingdom, and annexed a considerable part of them, including Buda, the capital, to the Turkish empire. In 1522, he expelled the Christian knights from their seat in the island of Rhodes, and compelled them to retire to Malta. In 1529, he penetrated into Germany, and laid siege to Vienna; but was forced to retire after losing 80,000 men. During his reign the Turkish navy was regarded as the first in the world, and

feared as the scourge of the Mediterranean. Solyman resolved on the conquest of Malta, and sent a powerful fleet there for that purpose in 1565; but the expedition failed, after a siege of five months. The following year he again marched into Hungary and laid siege to Szigeth, before which he died suddenly in his camp. In his domestic government, Solyman was a great reformer, and a liberal patron of poetry, the arts, and sciences which flourished during his reign. Notwithstanding the greatness and power of Solyman, the decline of the Turkish empire dates from the time of his death. Wealth and power introduced luxury and sensualities, which slowly but surely brought about their inevitable results.

SELIM THE SECOND succeeded his father Solyman in 1566. He crushed a dangerous mutiny of the Janizaries; conquered the island of Cyprus; and annexed Tunis to his dominions. At the battle of Lepanto, he experienced a great reverse, his navy being almost annihilated by Don John of Austria.

AMURATH THE THIRD ascended the throne in 1574, and immediately caused his five brothers to be strangled. He was a weak, lascivious monarch, and governed by favourites and women. Notwithstanding this, Turkey was enlarged during his reign by some important conquests. Amurath had the almost incredible number of 102 children, of whom twenty-seven daughters and twenty sons survived their father. He died after a reign of twenty-five years. At the period of his dissolution, the Turkish empire in Europe included the whole of what is now regarded as European Turkey, beside Greece and the greatest part of Hungary.

MAHOMMED THE THIRD became sultan in 1595, and for the sake of securing his succession, immediately put to death his nineteen brothers, and seven female slaves of his father who were pregnant. His reign of eight years was one unceasing scene of conflict.

ACHMET THE FIRST succeeded his father in 1603. In his reign, the weakness and decline of the empire became apparent. Achmet's troops were defeated in many savage battles, both by the Persians and the Hungarians. In 1606, he concluded a peace with the German emperor, Rodolph the Second, which is regarded as the first trace of an international law between Turkey and the European powers. In this reign, a body of Cossacks descended the Don in a

fleet of boats, crossed the Black Sea, and fell upon Sinope, which they plundered and destroyed.

MUSTAPHA THE FIRST, the brother of Achmet, ascended the throne in 1617, but was deposed and imprisoned six months afterwards in consequence of a revolution in the seraglio. He was succeeded by his nephew.

OTHTMAN THE SECOND became sultan in 1618. He soon incurred the hatred of the nation, and was deposed, imprisoned, and finally strangled by his rebellious subjects. Mustapha was then restored, but he soon showed symptoms of insanity, and in about a twelvemonth was again deposed by the Janizaries.

AMURATH THE FOURTH began to reign in 1623, at the tender age of twelve. For the first ten years he was governed by his mother, Mah-peiker, or Moon-Face. He then grasped the regal reins himself, and became a cruel, but enterprising tyrant. He is the first sultan on record who broke the commands of his religion by indulging in the use of wine. It is related, that he was accustomed to parade the streets at night in disguise. On one of these occasions, he met a cobbler in a state of intoxication, and was persuaded to taste his liquor. The tasting was repeated so frequently that the next day the sultan was suffering the penalties of drunkenness in the shape of sickness and headache. Sending for the cobbler, he resolved on putting him to death, but was persuaded by the man to get rid of his depression by taking another draught of wine. The sultan, it is added, became a confirmed drunkard, and the cobbler was made one of his ministers. Amurath waged a destructive war against Persia. After having thrice laid siege to Bagdad, he took it in the year 1638. Ten thousand Persians lost their lives during the siege, and 20,000 were massacred afterwards.

IBRAHIM, the youngest brother of Amurath, succeeded in 1640. He was a weak and cruel prince, who spent his time in luxury and debauchery. His passion for women surpassed everything on record, and their influence over him was unbounded. The Janizaries frequently rebelled during his reign, and at length deposed and strangled him.

MAHOMMED THE FOURTH, son of Ibrahim, succeeded him in 1649, being then but seven years of age. During his minority, much disorder prevailed in the state. The pros-



perity of Turkey was afterwards restored by a wise minister. The Turks were, however, defeated by the Austrians, with whom they had resumed hostilities. In 1678, a brief war with Russia ended in the conquest of Chérin by the Turks. In 1683, the latter were completely defeated by the allied Austrians and the Poles. This and other disgraces produced great discontent amongst the people; the Janizaries revolted, and the sultan was deposed and imprisoned.

SOLYMAN THE SECOND became sultan in 1687. He was frequently defeated by the Austrians, who took Belgrade. During his reign the empire was distracted by rebellions. He died of dropsy, having occupied the throne scarcely more than three years.

ACHMET THE SECOND succeeded him in 1691, and died after a brief but disastrous reign.

MUSTAPHA THE SECOND ascended the Turkish throne in 1695. During his reign, Peter the Great of Russia, anxious to have a free communication with the Black Sea, entered into an alliance with Austria against Turkey, and obtained possession of Azof. In the year 1697, Prince Eugene, the rival of our great general, Marlborough, obtained a great victory over the Turks at Zenta. The slaughter was tremendous: 9,000 carriages, 6,000 camels, and all the artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the victors. This event led to the peace of Carlowitz, by which Mustapha was compelled to surrender Transylvania, Kaminiek, the Morea, and Azof. Turkey had not been thus humbled since the time that the kingdom of Bajazet was shattered by the iron hand of the Tartar Tamerlane. The people appeased their irritation by deposing their sultan.

ACHMET THE THIRD grasped the sceptre in 1703. He generously sheltered Charles the Twelfth, after the defeat of that "heroic madman" at Pultawa by Peter the Great. Peter and the Russians were, in their turn, almost annihilated, in consequence of their penetrating into the Turkish dominions as far as Jassy, where they were surrounded by the Turkish troops. Peter was only saved from destruction by the address of his Empress Catherine, who bribed the minister of Achmet. The sultan himself obtained no other advantage than the recovery of the fortress of Azof. Achmet attacked Venice in 1714, and then led his army into Greece, where he conquered the Morea in one campaign. In 1716, the

Turks were defeated by Prince Eugene at Peterwaradin, and again the following year at Belgrade. The humbled Turks were glad to conclude a peace, by which they ceded much territory to Austria, and restored their Venetian conquests. A war with Persia followed, in which the Turks were successful. The Persians, however, again commenced hostilities, and recovered the provinces they had ceded. A revolt of the Janizaries, in which Sultan Achmet was deposed, was the result. During his reign of twenty-seven years, European arts and sciences found their way to Constantinople, and the first printing-press was established there.

MAHMOUD, his nephew, succeeded in 1730. He defeated the Persians, and concluded a peace with them which was not satisfactory to his people. He became implicated in another war with Austria and Russia, both which states were bent on dismembering their now enfeebled neighbour. The Austrians were defeated in several battles, and glad to purchase peace with the Turks by a restoration of that territory which had been taken from them by Prince Eugene. The Russians, however, obtained many advantages over the Turks, and the peace which concluded hostilities was highly advantageous to the former. The latter years of Mahmoud were troubled by a war with Persia, and by disturbances in Egypt and other subjected provinces.

OTHTMAN THE THIRD, his brother, succeeded Mahmoud in 1754, and his brief reign is not distinguished by any remarkable event.

MUSTAPHA THE THIRD ascended the throne in 1757. The increasing power of Russia induced him to declare war against the Empress Catherine the Second. The power of the Ottoman had been slowly decaying, while that of Russia had been rapidly advancing, and the arms of Catherine were pre-eminently successful. Her troops took possession of the Crimea and Circassia: her agents fomented an insurrection in Greece; and her infant fleet destroyed that of the Turks, in the bay of Chesme. The sultan died during the war, but during the same year, 1774, a peace was concluded at Kainardji by his son Abdul Ahmed, or Achmet the Fourth. This humiliating peace has been frequently referred to during the present struggle, of which it has been the partial cause. By it Russia obtained the Great and the Little Kabarda; that is, the



sultan engaged not to oppose the Russian occupation of those countries, which had previously been declared independent. Catherine also obtained for Russia the possession of Azof and other fortresses; the country between the Bog and the Dnieper; the free navigation of the Black Sea, and a free passage through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; the co-protectorship over Moldavia and Wallachia; and the protectorship over all the Greek churches within the Turkish empire.

ABDU L-AHMED, or Achmet the Fourth, succeeded in 1774. He renewed the war with Russia, but Catherine was again triumphant. The sultan died suddenly, after a reign of fifteen years.

SELIM THE THIRD became sultan in 1789. He was one of the most enlightened men of the East, and formed a plan for the regeneration of his country. Beaten at Martinestie by the united Russians and Austrians, Turkey would have been overrun but for the intervention of England, Prussia, and Sweden. Peace was then concluded with both Austria and Russia. Buonaparte's invasion of Egypt involved Selim in a war with France, in which his army was utterly defeated, and Egypt conquered by the French, but it was afterwards restored to the sultan by the English. At length Selim began his reform. To the troops he gave a new organisation, called the Nizam Jedid, which placed them on a footing similar to that of European armies. His object was to create a counterpoise to the Janizaries, who incessantly disturbed the peace of the empire. He also changed the system of taxation and the constitution of the divan. These alterations created an insurrection among the Janizaries, who deposed Selim and confined him in the seraglio, where he was soon afterwards murdered.

MUSTAPHA THE FOURTH was placed upon the throne by the turbulent troops in 1807, and immediately afterwards abolished the reforms of his predecessor. He soon lost the favour of the Janizaries, who, in the following year, besieged his palace, and deposed him.

MAHMOUD THE SECOND, the brother of Mustapha, pupil of the ill-fated reformer, Selim, and the father of the reigning Sultan of Turkey, ascended the throne in 1808. He was a man of remarkable energy and brilliant talents, but they were unhappily stained by great cruelties. Mahmoud owed his life to a prevalent supersti-

tion, that the empire would terminate with the race of its warlike founder, Othman the bone-breaker. He became the only living member of that house, by causing his deposed brother to be strangled, together with his infant son. Four of Mustapha's pregnant female slaves were also sewn up in sacks, and drowned in the Bosphorus. Mahmoud's life was then regarded as a sacred thing upon which depended the national existence of his people. Having put an end to the rebellion by conciliating the Janizaries, he renewed the war with his old enemies the Russians, and prepared to meet a rebellion of the Greeks. The last event brought upon Turkey a great calamity. Several European powers took the Greeks under their protection, and the Turkish navy was destroyed by the combined fleets of England, France, and Russia, on the 20th of October, 1827, at the battle of NAVARINO. This was spoken of by the people of England as a glorious and brilliant achievement; but in the speech of George the Fourth from the throne, it was alluded to as an *untoward* event; and an untoward event it has certainly proved, for it broke the right-arm of Turkey, and encouraged the Russian court to persevere in their present scheme of dangerous aggression. Besides the total loss of her navy, Turkey was yet further weakened by the largest part of Greece being wrested from her dominions and erected into an independent kingdom, under the rule of the Bavarian prince Otho.

Mahmoud bore his loss with wonderful heroism; for nothing crushed his brave and elastic spirit. Finding that the turbulent Janizaries, and not himself, were the real masters of the empire, he resolved to adopt one of those extreme and awful measures for which only one plea can be urged—that of an inevitable necessity. His plan was to destroy the Janizaries by a sudden and terrible blow, and thus deliver himself and people from a capricious military tyranny. During the night of the 15th of June, 1826, 30,000 of the Janizaries rose in insurrection, burnt the palace of the grand vizier, and proceeded to storm the seraglio of the sultan. Mahmoud was soon prepared: the people sided with him; and falling upon the rebels with an army of 50,000 men, he put to death 20,000 of them; banished the rest to different places in Asia Minor; and abolished the order. From that event begins a new era in the history of Turkey.

A ruinous war with Russia was concluded by the peace of Adrianople in 1829. A war with Egypt followed, in which the pride of Turkey was further humbled by his vassal Mehemet Ali, the pacha of that country, and his brave son Ibrahim. Constantinople was only saved from the victorious arms of the latter by the help of the Russian emperor, Nicholas, whose assistance Mahmoud was glad to implore. The result of this aid was the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which Russia bound herself to assist Turkey with an army whenever she should require it; in return for which, the Porte promised not to allow any armed vessels inimical to Russia to pass the Dardanelles. This promised protection of Turkey was a delusive snare, which the czar trusted would materially advance the ambitious project of territorial extension bequeathed to him by his ancestors.

During this period of reverses, Mahmoud was still busy in carrying into practice the reforms meditated by his predecessor Selim. He introduced the European costume and discipline into the army, and startled his apathetic subjects by the establishment of a newspaper at Constantinople. He repaired the Greek churches; abolished the barbarous practice of sending the ambassador of any foreign power with which war was declared to the Seven Towers, a state-prison, which may be called the bastille of Constantinople. A religious objection to copy the human form had existed, which Mahmoud endeavoured to overcome by sitting to several artists for his portrait. He caused a school of surgery to be founded; patronised a series of anatomical engravings; and placed the institution for lunatics under the care of an Hungarian physician, with directions to treat his patients according to the best European systems. He induced the Turks to take precautions against the plague and other infectious diseases, instead of regarding them as an infliction sent by the Deity, which human skill could not possibly avert. Contrary to the practice of former sultans, he sat in council with the members of his divan, and removed every custom he considered worthless or opposed to the progress of his people. Finally, he set at defiance the religious prohibition of wine, an example in which he was imitated by most of his officers and dependents. This might be regretted by some Europeans; but it must be regarded as a slight step towards breaking

down that false religion which has converted the greatest part of Asia into a camp and a temperance society. With respect to religion, the toleration of Mahmoud was remarkable, and might be advantageously followed by many Christian prelates, both of the catholic and protestant churches. "Let protection," said he, "be equally extended to every one. Mussulmans must only be distinguished from other men at the mosque, Christians at the church, and Jews at the synagogue."

Dr. Walsh has given a very interesting word-picture of this interesting Turkish reformer. "I had an opportunity," says he, "of knowing much of the habits and private life of Mahmoud. He takes two meals a-day; one at eleven, A.M., and the other at sunset. He has exchanged the Turkish stool and tray for a chair and table, which is laid out exactly in the European fashion. The table is furnished with a cloth, and knives and forks, which are English; to these are added golden spoons, and a decanter of wine. The wine is usually champagne, which he is fond of, and is greatly amused when the cork explodes and the wine flies up to the ceiling. He always sits alone at his meals. The dishes are brought in one at a time, in succession, to the number of fifty or sixty, all covered and sealed. He breaks the seal himself, and tastes the dish; if he does not like it, he sends it away. In his domestic habits he is mild and amiable, to a degree quite astonishing in a character marked by such fierce vigour. He is a cordial friend and a gentle master. He is remarkably fond of his children; enters into all the sports of his sons; and suffers them to take great liberties with him, such as riding on his back. He is himself a proficient in manly exercises."

Sultan Mahmoud's reign of thirty-one years was disturbed, during the close of it, by a new war with Egypt, but he did not live to hear of the total defeat of his armies by Ibrahim Pacha.

ABDUL-MEDJID, the son of Mahmoud, and present sultan of the Ottoman empire, was born on the 20th of April, 1823. He succeeded his father on the 1st of July, 1839, when but in his sixteenth year. He is the thirty-first sovereign of the family of Osman, and the twenty-eighth since the taking of Constantinople. He was delivered from his dangerous Egyptian enemy by the intervention of England, Russia, and Austria. Admiral Napier took Beyrut and St. Jean



d'Acre, and Ibrahim Pacha was driven out of Syria, which was restored to the authority of the young sultan, who, on the restoration of peace, addressed himself to furthering the reforms commenced by his father. Abdul-Medjid is quiet, cold, and silent in his manners, and generally worn and downcast in his aspect.

The following portraiture of the sultan, from the pen of a recent French writer, will be read with more than ordinary interest:—

"Sultan Abdul-Medjid, the twenty-first child of Mahmoud, was commencing his seventeenth year when he ascended the throne. He looked a little older than he really was, although his appearance was far from announcing a robust constitution. Some months previously an inflammation of the lungs had endangered his life. He had been saved by the care of an Armenian Roman catholic, Meriem-Khadoum, who was renowned for his cures. Slender and tall, he had the same long, pale face as his father; his black eyebrows, less arched than those of Mahmoud, announced a mind of less haughtiness and of less energy. His lips are rather thick, and he is slightly marked with the small-pox. At this epoch of his life his features did not present a very marked expression, as if no strong passion had yet agitated the young breast. But his eyes, large and very beautiful, sometimes became animated with a most lively expression, and glistened with the fire of intelligence.

"Abdul-Medjid was much indebted to nature: he afterwards perfected his education, and has become a most accomplished prince, remarkable above all for his passionate love of literature and the arts.

"The first time the young sultan presented himself to the eyes of his subjects, he was dressed in the European trowsers and coat, over which was thrown the imperial cloak, fastened by a diamond aigrette. On his breast he wore the decoration of the Nicham-Iflichar; his head was covered with the fez, surmounted by a diamond aigrette. The new king, while thus continuing the costume of his father, nevertheless presented only a pale resemblance to him. Simple without affectation, he cast around him glances full of softness and benevolence. Everything announced in him the *débonnaire* successor of an inflexible ruler; nothing hitherto had indicated what great and precious qualities were concealed beneath that modest and tranquil exterior. He was re-

ceived favourably by his people, but without any demonstration of enthusiasm. It was feared that this delicate youth could scarcely be equal to the importance of his duties. People pitied him, and, at the same time, trembled for the future prospects of the country. The women alone, touched by his youth and his appearance of kindness, manifested their sympathy for him openly. When he went through Constantinople to the mosque of Baieid, they ran towards him from all parts. 'Is not our son handsome?' they cried, adopting him with affection.

"The sultan alone is deprived of the four lawful wives which the Koran allows to those who can support them. The harem is composed of about thirty *cadines*, or ladies, and a still greater number of *odalesques*, or waiting-women. Amongst the *cadines*, two or three only are looked upon as favourites. There are also dancers and singers, who, by a caprice of the master, may sometimes be raised to the rank of sultana. The women belonging to the sultan are never either Turks or Greeks. The seraglio is recruited exclusively from Georgians, Malays, and Abyssinians. Accordingly, the sultan having only slaves for his wives, is himself the son of a slave—a reproach which the Turks do not spare him when they are discontented with him. At the moment of our writing, Abdul-Medjid has already nine children, amongst whom five are daughters. Abdul-Medjid has only one brother.

"If Abdul-Medjid loves literature, he wishes to have his taste for it shared by his subjects, whom he is always endeavouring to rescue from their ignorance. It is from his reign that the reorganisation of public instruction must be dated.

"In 1846, an imperial decree ordered the formation of a council, to which were intrusted all questions of public instruction, and the task of erecting a building to serve as a new university.

"The state of the muktebs, or primary schools, is satisfactory enough at the present day. Elementary instruction in Turkey is gratuitous and obligatory. The law ordains that each Mussulman, as soon as his sons or daughters have reached their sixth year, shall have their names inscribed in the books of one of the public schools, unless he proves his intention of educating them at home, and shows that he possesses the means of doing so. At Constantinople there are now existing 396 muktebs, or free-schools, frequented by 22,700 children of both sexes.



After four or five years passed in the mukteb, the child who wishes to continue his studies further enters a secondary school, where instruction on all points is also gratuitous. There are now six of these schools at Constantinople, containing 870 pupils. The superior instruction has been divided into several branches: the school of the mosque of Ahmed, and that of Suleiman, for the young men who are intended to fill public appointments; the college of Valide-Sultana, founded with the same view; the normal school, for the education of the professors; the imperial school of medicine, the military school, the naval school, and the agricultural school of San Stefano.

"Abdul-Medjid himself superintends these different schools, and visits in person at the frequent examinations by which the progress of the pupils is tested. The young Turks are very intelligent and very docile; without vanity; exceedingly conscientious, and bent upon doing their duty. They are grave but polite in their demeanour, and never quarrel or dispute. There are numerous libraries at Constantinople; the number of volumes which they contain may be estimated at 80,000, reckoning both MSS. and printed books. The literature of Arabia, Persia, and Turkey is represented in them; and the collection includes philosophical and theological works, poetry, history, books of science, and an immense number of those treatises on conduct and manners, to which the Turks attach almost as much importance as the Chinese themselves. The printing-press does its work at Constantinople, but as yet but slowly. The periodical press has produced a sufficiently large number of journals, printed sometimes in French, sometimes in Turkish or Greek.

"The reign of the sultan Abdul-Medjid has been sullied by no execution, by no act of cruelty. None of his ministers have ever lost their lives when they have lost their power. In the West the despotism of the East has been ill understood, and much exaggerated.

"The deaths, by poison and the rope, which are so often spoken of in Oriental

history, only happened to the vizirs, the pachas, the ulemahs, and scarcely ever to simple subjects.

"If Abdul-Medjid has not been cruel, like the greater part of his predecessors, he has known how to employ a just severity when there has been cause for it. He has often shown that the laws are to be executed with firmness, and that the guilty cannot escape under any pretence. Thus Hassan, the Pacha of Koniah, was condemned, by the high court, to perpetual labour at the galleys, for having killed his servant upon a very slight provocation."

Of the GOVERNMENT of Turkey we will speak very briefly. It has been happily called a despotism tempered by rebellions; for they are the invariable resort of the people, when they consider themselves oppressed or injured by their monarch. The sultan is absolute; that is, there is no check to his power corresponding to the English houses of parliament. He is also the chief ruler of the Mohammedan religion, but is compelled not only to reign conformably to the precepts of the Koran and other religious books, but also to defer to the unanimous decision of the mufti and the assembly of the ulemahs. The mufti is the highest legal dignitary—the patriarch and high chancellor of the empire. The sultan neither makes war, concludes peace, or takes any important step without inquiring of him and the ulemahs whether his intention is conformable to the laws. Ulemah is the name for all doctors of law and theology, and for members of the learned class generally. The mufti is assisted by a council of the judges and other distinguished functionaries—"the dignitaries of law" or the "dignitaries of science." They are called the assembly of the ulemahs or wise men. The aristocracy of the empire is divided into the dignities of the pen and the dignities of the sword. The members of the former compose the sublime porte or state-council of the sultan, the president of which is the grand vizier. To the latter belong governors of provinces and high officers of the army.

#### RELIGION IN TURKEY.

EUROPEAN TURKEY contains somewhere about 12,000,000 Christians to 3,000,000 Mussulmans or Mohammedans. These proportions are exactly reversed in Asiatic Turkey, where

there are supposed to be 12,000,000 Mussulmans to 3,000,000 Christians.

Mohammedanism is the established religion of Turkey. It received its name from its

founder, Mahomet, who was born at Mecca in Arabia, in the year 569. It is deism blended with some superstitious observances; its primary doctrine being that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his prophet. The precepts and principles of this Eastern religion are contained in the Koran, which is asserted to have been written by the angel Gabriel, and delivered by him to the prophet a verse at a time, over a period of twenty-three years. The Mussulmans venerate three other books, which they regard as being almost as sacred as the Koran. These are the Hadiff, or Sunneth, containing an account of the conversations and dealings of the prophet; the Jdjhay-ummeth, or explanations and decisions of the most eminent disciples of Mahomet; and the Kiyas, or canonical decisions of the imauns, or priests of the early centuries of Islamism.

The Koran is written in the Koreish Arabic, a language of great capabilities, and believed in the East to be that used in Paradise. The Mohammedans assert that it is eternal and uncreated, and that the original is written in heaven on a gigantic table. It is held in the most superstitious veneration, and no good Mussulman so much as touches it without first performing certain ablutions. That this reverential custom may not be infringed upon, a label is placed on the cover, containing the following inscription:—"Let none touch but they who are clean." The Koran is divided into 114 sections and 3,000 verses. Its contents are chiefly precepts on religion, law, and morality. To every section there is a title, as follows:—The Table; the Spoil; the Thunder; the Prophets; the Pilgrimage; the Resurrection, &c. The following unexceptionable, if not admirable prayer, is attached to it as an introduction:—"Praise to God, the Lord of all created things, the all-merciful, the King of the day of judgment. We pray to Thee and supplicate Thee for assistance. Lead us into the right way—into the way of those to whom Thou art merciful; not of those with whom Thou art wrath, or of those who go astray."

Mahomet died in the year 622, in consequence of a fever brought on by poison administered to him in his favourite dish—a shoulder of mutton—by a Jewess, who took this severe mode of testing his divine and prophetic character. He held that Moses and Christ were prophets, but that there were none between the latter and himself. His favourable opinion of Moses, and

of the founder of our own religion, may probably arise from the circumstance of his having been assisted in the composition of the Koran by a monk and a learned Jew: such at least is the assertion of many writers. His ideas respecting futurity are romantic and sensual. The usual title for the Mohammedan Paradise is Jaunat-al-Nain, the garden of voluptuousness. It is situated, say the faithful, above the seventh heaven, and immediately under the throne of God. There the blest will pass their time in dalliance with black-eyed girls of superhuman beauty, called Hur-al-Oyun, corrupted by us into Houris. To account for the exquisite purity and perfection of their persons, it is added that they are not formed from clay, like mortals, but from musk. They are said to reside in pavilions formed of pearls, one of which is sixty miles long. Some enlightened Mohammedans consider that these sensual pleasures are to be regarded as allegorical. The Mussulman notion of a place of future punishment is just as extraordinary. It is divided into seven compartments or pits, for different orders of criminals; the lowest being for the hypocrites. The spirits of the dead are all obliged to pass over a bridge called Al Sirat, which is as fine as a hair, and as sharp as a razor. The just and faithful perform this unpleasant feat easily enough; but the wicked and unbelievers fall over into the place assigned for them.

The Christians of Turkey belong mostly to the Greek church, which is bitterly opposed to the Latin or Roman Catholic one. The Greek church does not recognise the pope, or any one else, as the visible vicar of Christ upon earth. It also contends that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Supreme Deity alone, and not from the Father and the Son. It acknowledges the seven sacraments of the Roman church, venerates relics, graves, and crosses, but rejects the doctrine of purgatory, works of supererogation, indulgences, and dispensations. The clergy, with the exception of the monks and the bishops, are permitted to marry once. They must not, however, contract a second alliance or espouse a widow. The service of the Greek church consists almost entirely of forms, and is extremely tedious. There are four patriarchs in the Greek church; those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The patriarch of Constantinople acquires his authority by purchase from the Porte.



## CHAPTER II.

## RUSSIA—ITS EXTENT, NATURE, AND POPULATION.

THE Russian empire is the largest in the world, of which it forms a ninth, or, according to other calculations, a seventh portion. It extends over the north-eastern part of Europe, over the whole of Northern Asia, and the north-western coast of North America. Its entire area is supposed to include the enormous space of 7,700,000 square miles.

RUSSIA IN EUROPE is situated between 43° to 71° north latitude, and from 20° to 63° east longitude. It is bounded east by Siberia and the Caspian Sea; south by Asiatic Russia, the Black Sea, the Ottoman and the Austrian empires; west by Moldavia, Austria, Prussia, the Baltic, and Sweden; and north by the Arctic Ocean. Its length is 1,960 miles, and its breadth 1,850. Its magnitude may, perhaps, be more readily understood by saying, that it is about thirty times as large as England.

RUSSIA IN ASIA embraces Siberia, Kamtschatka, and the region of the Caucasus. It, however, includes some countries which are only nominally subject to the czar, and others which do not recognise his power, and are almost constantly at war with him. Its capital is Teflis, which stands in a narrow valley on the river Kur. Siberia is divided into three extensive governments, namely, Tobolsk, Irkutsk, and Tomsk. The climate of Asiatic Russia is in many places so severely cold as to be unfit for the residence of man. Altogether, it is so thinly peopled, that the average gives little more than one inhabitant to each square mile. In many places, any attempt to raise grain would be useless; and in some, nothing grows but spungy moss, or low stunted bramble. Siberia, however, is valuable to Russia on account of its mines. Gold is met with in small quantities, iron and copper are plentiful, and antimony, cobalt, mercury, and zinc are met with. Russian America includes the whole of the north-west of that great continent. We only refer to these possessions to show the enormous territory beneath the sway of the czar, and the capabilities of extension of the Russian empire.

Russia is divided into fifty governments, thirty-three of which are in Europe. The

enumeration of them here would be unnecessary, as it is not probable that the interior of Russia will become the seat of war. The surface of European Russia is one almost unbroken plain; and geological phenomena, confirmed by tradition, warrant the conclusion that a great part of central Russia once formed the bed of the sea. It has a greater variety of soil than any other country in Europe: some portions are almost as fertile as any in the world; while others are scarcely more adapted for agriculture than the great African desert. Its climate is extremely diversified; in fact, it is generally said to possess three climates—the cold, the hot, and the temperate. The winter in the northern districts lasts from seven to eight months, and in the southern from five to six months. The thermometer usually descends to 22° below zero at the end of December, or in January; even at St. Petersburg, and farther inland, the cold is much more intense. During summer the heat for a few weeks is very great.

The population consists of about 60,000,000: it is composed of people belonging to 100 nations, and speaking forty different languages. They belong either to the Caucasian or the Mongol race, but chiefly to the former. The Slavonians or Russians amount to 40,000,000, or two-thirds of the entire population. They are divided into Great and Little Russians. The Cossacks, a peculiar people, who form a species of democratic republic, are properly descended from the latter. The population is divided into four classes—namely, the nobility, clergy, free-men and peasants, or serfs, who are literally slaves, being bought and sold with the land they cultivate. It is asserted that throughout European Russia there are not more than a million and-a-half of free men. If this statement is correct, that vast people must be strangely deficient in that moral power and manly spirit which constitutes the real strength of nations.

The character of the Russian people partakes something of that of the French, but it has many points entirely its own. They are generally hospitable, industrious, tolerant, cheerful, and good-tempered in their

dispositions ; quick, elegant, ostentatious, and polite to excess in their manners. The ostentation and gorgeous luxury of the nobles probably exceeds that of any other country. The profusion of rare flowers, wax-lights, and servants in livery, exhibited at the *soirées* of the nobles, are almost fabulous. The people are generally handsome, hardy, and brave ; Buonaparte once said, that next to the French, they were the best soldiers in Europe. They are exceedingly subtle and cunning ; the ingenuity of the moujik (*i.e.* serf) exceeds that of the Jew. Peter the Great went so far as to declare, that a single Russian is a match for three Jews. Their greatest vices are their drunkenness and that dishonesty or propensity for theft which prevails throughout Russia, and which the late Emperor Nicholas made such persevering but ineffectual attempts to reform. Venality and corruption pervade every grade of society, but are singularly apparent in the Russian officials. The dishonesty of these functionaries has become proverbial. They seem to be insensible to the guilt or shame of it ; and when a general is degraded to a common soldier, or an admiral to a sailor, for peculation of the public money entrusted to them, the usual comment is, "What fools to allow themselves to be discovered !" It is said, that public functionaries who possess an annual salary of a 100,000 roubles, will sometimes raise it to as much as 2,000,000. A German writer, after remarking that corruption is the worm that dieth not in the Russian empire, relates what follows as the result of his own experience : "One officer, instead of instructing his soldiers, makes them devote all the time they ought to pass in learning their exercise, in labours profitable to himself. Another receives pay for men who have never existed,—save on paper. A third sends his horses to grass, and pockets the money intended for forage. A fourth defrauds the troops of food and clothing, without troubling himself about the number of deaths and diseases that result from this scandalous abuse. The majority put into their pockets the money destined to repair and complete the *matériel*, which accounts for the frequent and sudden decay remarked in Russian armies. Everywhere you find robbery—organised robbery—hierarchical robbery ; for in Russia every officer robs according to his rank : so that a dignity is less valued on its own account and for its honour, than for the plunder it may bring in." The ships comprising the

Russian navy speedily rot and become unseaworthy, from being built of green timber, on account of the cheating of commanders, contractors, and subordinate officials.

Passing from the people of Russia, let us briefly consider a few of its principal cities, &c. St. Petersburg, its capital, was built at the commencement of the last century by Peter the Great. It stands on both banks of the river Neva ; and although great part of the houses are built of wood, yet its noble public buildings, the width of its streets, and its grand public squares make it one of the finest cities of Europe. Its dimensions, no doubt, contribute to its reputation : it is larger than London, being about twenty miles in circumference. It is, however, extremely cold and damp, and subject to dangerous inundations of the Neva. In one that occurred in 1824, no less than 15,000 lives were lost. It is feared that the city may at some period be altogether destroyed by these terrible floods. Its population amounts to about half-a-million, and is said to be composed of twice as many men as women. Amongst the noble monuments which ornament the city is the bronze equestrian statue of its founder. It stands on a huge block of granite, and looks like the presiding genius of the nation. The finest buildings are the Winter Palace, the Hermitage, the Senate, the Admiralty, and the cathedral of St. Isaac. The latter is a building of extraordinary magnificence. For its construction, Finland supplied its beautiful granite and porphyry, Italy its finest marble, and artists of all climates mingled the efforts of their genius. Next to London and Hamburg, St. Petersburg has the most important trade of any city in Europe. The Neva is generally frozen over for six months in the year ; and during the winter, the thermometer is sometimes thirty degrees below zero. This bitter time is, however, preferred to the brief summer, which is so hot as to be painfully oppressive.

In the entrance of the Gulf of Finland, and about thirty-one miles from St. Petersburg, of which it is the defence, stands the famous island and fortifications of Cronstadt. Its harbours, docks, and basins have cost many millions of roubles, and many thousands of lives. Its vast port is divided into three parts : one is the military port, and usually contains the greater part of the Russian fleet ; the second is used for refitting ships of war ; and the third for



lading and discharging large merchant ships, which, on account of the shallowness of the water, cannot approach St. Petersburg. All the ports are strongly defended by ramparts and bastions. In summer, Cronstadt has a population of more than 50,000 persons. In winter, during several months of which the port is ice-bound, it is nearly deserted.

Moscow, the ancient capital of Russia, stands almost in the centre of the empire, and is stil' the scat of its nationality. Its population is probably at present not less than 400,000. It is the residence of many of the wealthiest and most ancient families among the nobility. The Kremlin, formerly the residence of the czars, is at once a fortress, palace, castle, and cathedral. It is a giant amongst buildings, with walls sixteen feet thick, and from thirty to sixty in height, with battlements, embrasures, towers, and gates. The Marquis de Custine observes, that the Kremlin is the Mont Blanc of fortresses. "I have been," he adds, "over the public gardens planted upon the glaciers of the old citadel of the czars. I beheld towers, then other towers; flights of walls, and then other flights; and my eyes wandered over an enchanted city. It is saying too little to call it fairy-land!" Within the walls of the Kremlin, which is in itself a city, are as many as four cathedrals and thirty-two churches. Within the cathedral of St. Michael are contained the tombs of all the Russian sovereigns to the time of Peter the Great. A railway connects Moscow with St. Petersburg. The former is the most industrious city of the empire, and is regarded as the Manchester of Russia. It has an arsenal, a large public library, an observatory, a botanic garden, an university, and many literary and scientific institutions.

Odessa is a celebrated seaport town on a fine bay of the Black Sea. Late events have secured for it a permanent mention in the historic records both of England and Russia. Odessa, however, has purchased its distinction at a price which has ruined its inhabitants, and struck a doubting tremor to the heart of the arrogant czar. It lately contained upwards of 70,000 inhabitants, exclusive of its garrison; and in 1849, the amount of its export and import trade was valued at about four millions and-a-half sterling. The prosperity of the town is, of course, entirely suspended since the recent bombardment; a part of it being burnt and left in ruins. The fortifications,

batteries, and military magazines were destroyed; but in consequence of the more humane principles which guide our modern warfare, in comparison with that of past times, the commercial harbour was spared.

Sebastopol is a strongly-fortified seaport town and arsenal, standing in the Crimea, on a deep and sheltered creek of the Black Sea. It is defended by a citadel and batteries. Its large and well-protected harbour is the station for the Russian fleet in the Black Sea,—a circumstance which led the allies to attack its fortifications. While they exist, the Russian fleet in the neighbouring sea has ever a place where it can retire in safety from the grim threatening mouths and loud thundering of the French and English cannon. The population of Sebastopol is about 30,000. The port is defended by eleven batteries, mounting 1,500 cannon. No stranger may approach the city without a special permit, or reside in it without a special order, which must be renewed every four-and-twenty hours. The fact that the fortifications of this famous port have nearly all been erected by the late emperor, will make their destruction, should it take place (and we doubt not it will do so), a work of warlike retribution. Sveaborg, Toola, Nijni-Novgorod, Kason, and other great towns do not demand description.

The Crimea, however, must not be forgotten; for it will ever be remembered as the theatre of the sternest, the most brilliant, and we trust the most decisive events of the war. It is a peninsula of South Russia, formed by the Sea of Azof and the Black Sea. Simferopol is the chief town. In 1837, the population of the peninsular was estimated at 190,063. The soil of the south-east part is rich and fertile, and abundantly produces all the fruits and grain of southern Europe. The north-west forms a vast plain, impregnated with salt, and only fit for pasturage. Enormous herds of cattle are reared in the Crimea: it is estimated to possess more than 7,000,000 sheep; and its honey is much esteemed. Its mountains are covered with noble and valuable forests, and present a beautiful and romantic aspect.

Circassia is now declared independent of Russia; but unhappy Poland still remains subject to it. Circassia has been described as a nation of heroes, whose long-continued and bravely-sustained efforts for freedom against its tyrannic neighbour, have long been the admiration of every well-constituted

mind. On looking to a map, the reader will at once perceive, that to sustain the peace of Europe by wresting the Black Sea from the domination of the Russian flag, the freedom of Circassia must be upheld. The Circassians are regarded as being physically the finest specimens of the human race. Notwithstanding, civilisation is in a very low condition among them, and parents sell the most beautiful of their female children to gratify the sensual plea-

tures of the wealthy Mussulmans of Constantinople. The population is estimated at 220,000.

The principal river of Russia is the Volga. It is the largest in Europe, and its course, including windings, extends for 2,000 miles. It is frozen over for 170 days in the year. The Don, the Dnieper, Dvina, and the Neva are the other most important ones. Russia would like to add the broad Danube to the number, or choke it up with mud.

#### HISTORIC VIEW OF RUSSIA AND ITS AIMS.

THE origin of the Russian nation is generally dated from about the year 850. At that time a freebooter of the Baltic, named Ruric, who had been called in by the people of Novgorod to defend them against their neighbours, seized a great part of their country, and founded a Norman dynasty. In the proceedings of these barbarous people, the modern reader will find but little to interest him.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Tartars of Kapchak burst into Europe and overspread the eastern and southern provinces of Russia. After two centuries and-a-half of bondage, the yoke of the Tartars was shaken off, and in 1462, Ivan the Great succeeded to the regal dignity of his ancestors. Some years afterwards he assumed the title of czar, announced himself to the other states of Europe as an independent sovereign, and Russia came to be numbered amongst the nations. Constantinople had but lately fallen into the hands of the Ottomans,—an event much deplored by the superstitious Russians, who regarded it with feelings of religious veneration. To the great delight of his subjects, Ivan married Sophia, the niece of the last of the Greek emperors, and adopted, as the ensign of his state, the two-headed eagle of the eastern empire,—that symbol having been replaced at Constantinople by the victorious crescent. The alliance of Ivan with the Greek princess, Sophia, is regarded as an event of great historic importance; for by it Ivan and his successors pretend that they have acquired some sort of claim to be regarded as heirs to the rights of the ancient Greek emperors of Constantinople. This sophism has been used to colour, with at least some faint tint and blush of justice, the many aggressive acts which Russia, in its

growing strength, has from time to time inflicted upon Turkey, in its increasing weakness. From the year that Ivan wedded Sophia, have the Russians kept an evil lusting eye upon the domes and gilded minarets of Constantinople.

The royal family of Ruric at length failed to produce a prince to wear the imperial diadem of Russia; and in 1613, Michael Romanoff, the founder of the present royal house of Russia, was elected to the vacant throne.

PETER THE GREAT, the fifth sovereign of the house of Romanoff, is regarded as the founder of the present greatness of Russia, and venerated as the father of his country. This extraordinary man succeeded to the crown in 1682. His eccentricities, his disguises, his contempt of all regal conventionalities; his industry, perseverance, energy, and grasp of thought, are familiar to all readers of biography. His first political act revealed his design (as yet dim and shadowy) upon the empire of the East. It was the taking of Azof from the Turks, in 1694. He was recalled from a visit to England by the information that the Strelitzes (a body of troops resembling the Turkish Janizaries) were in rebellion. He speedily crushed the insurrection, disbanded the Strelitzes, and caused 2,000 of them to be executed. Some writers say that he struck off the heads of many of these wretched men himself, and that he was delighted at the dexterity with which he performed this savage and unkingly deed; but this has been denied. In 1701, he struck a heavy blow at the overgrown power of the clergy, by abolishing the dignity of patriarch of Moscow, and declaring himself to be the head of the Russian church. After being several times defeated by Charles XII., of Sweden, he



utterly defeated that famous soldier at the battle of Pultowa. Peter's difficulties, when he pursued Charles beyond the Pruth, and his humiliation in Turkey, we have already referred to.\* During his wars he never lost sight of the internal improvement of his country, and the creation of a navy, which he justly considered essential to its advancement. The latter part of his life was embittered by a domestic tragedy. His weak and vicious son, Alexis, had incurred his strong resentment. The father decreed the arrest of the son, who was tried and condemned to death on a charge (real or pretended) of conspiracy. Alexis died in prison: some say in terror of his sentence; others, that he perished by poison, administered at the command of his relentless parent. Peter was the first czar who assumed the title of Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias. He died, 1725, after a reign of six-and-thirty years. During that period he had raised his country from a state of barbarism to a degree of military strength and political importance which placed her on a level with the first powers of Europe. It is said that he bequeathed to his cabinet an injunction, that they were never to omit an opportunity, by extending their conquests in the direction of the East, of effacing the memory of his disgrace beyond the Pruth.

Peter's widow, Catherine I., succeeded him; and was herself succeeded by Peter II. The events of their reigns are not of much historical importance, and do not bear upon the question of the war. During the reign of the Empress Anne, Crim Tartary was seized and incorporated with Russia.

We pass over the brief reign of Anne's grand nephew, Ivan, and that of the accomplished Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great. Peter III., previously Duke of Hol-

stein-Gottorp, succeeded in 1762. He abolished torture in criminal proceedings, and issued admirable regulations for the protection of commerce. His startling reform, however, in the army and the church, excited the disapprobation of the people. He was an imitator of his illustrious compeer, Frederick the Great of Prussia, whom he admired extremely. It is said that he wanted to alter everything, and that without regard to the opposition of his subjects. After a reign of six months, he was dethroned and cruelly murdered in prison by the conspirators against him.

CATHERINE II., his widow, succeeded him in 1762; not without incurring the suspicion of having sanctioned the murder of her husband. This brilliant, ambitious, and unscrupulous princess gave a fresh impulse to Russian policy, which, in her reign, assumed that steadily aggressive course it has ever since maintained. That policy was the extension of the Russian empire in all directions; especially towards Constantinople and the Mediterranean. A close study of the reign of this dissolute but gifted woman will amply repay the historic reader. It is one of the most extraordinary among the records of modern nations. She was constantly at war with the Turks, and almost always successful. Her troops took possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, but were, however, unable permanently to retain them. Russia had hitherto only been powerful on land; but now a Russian fleet appeared for the first time, and at once signalled itself by the destruction of the Turkish navy. The encroachments of the empress caused the war to be renewed in 1787. It lasted for five years, and was rendered memorable by the frightful carnage at the taking of Ismail, and for the sanguinary triumphs of

\* The devotion of his wife Catherine, who had accompanied him on this expedition, is both interesting and touching. Her history is a romantic instance of the wild caprices of fortune. Catherine was a poor orphan, the natural daughter of a peasant girl, and brought up from motives of charity by a Lutheran minister of Marienberg. For a time she lived as a servant in his family, and at an early age married a Swedish dragoon. Marienberg was besieged by Peter's troops, who carried away all the inhabitants. Catherine, or Martha (as she was then called), was amongst the prisoners, and her husband had perished during the siege. The beauty of the widowed orphan attracted the notice of the Russian general, Bauer, who took her for his servant, and also, it is supposed, for his mistress. Prince Mentschikoff then became enamoured of the beautiful low-born girl, and received her under his protection. She lived with him for some time, when the emperor

accidentally beheld her, and was so captivated by her graceful appearance and manners that he made her his mistress. While in that position, she obtained so much influence over him, that a few years afterwards he married her. When Peter was hemmed in near Jassy by an overwhelming army (a vain attempt to break through which had cost him 18,000 men), he shut himself up in his tent, gave orders that no one should approach him, and abandoned himself to despair. Catherine disobeyed the command, and found her husband in strong convulsions, brought on by extreme agitation. Exerting her womanly tenderness, she succeeded in calming him, and wisely proposed that he should negotiate with the enemy. Stripping herself of her jewels, and collecting all other articles of similar value in the camp, she bribed the minister of the sultan, and saved the life of the man who had raised her from the dust to an imperial diadem.

Potemkin and Suwarrow. In 1795, the final dismemberment of Poland took place, by which its nationality was extinguished, and the greatest part of its territories annexed to Russia. Catherine indulged in sensuality to an extent that seems almost incredible. She kept her male favourites more openly than some monarchs of the other sex do their mistresses. They were installed into office with as much formality as were her ministers, and changed much more frequently. She was a great patron of literature, and herself wrote and conversed with grace and intelligence. It was during her reign that the apprehensions of the Christian states became first excited for the security of the Turks. Statesmen began to have a dim idea that eventually the Ottoman empire might be overwhelmed by and swallowed up in Russia. Indeed, Catherine had bestowed the name of Constantine upon her second son, with the view of eventually placing him on the throne of Constantinople.

PAUL succeeded in 1796. Catherine, his mother, had hated him, and a suspicion was entertained that he was a Finnish foundling, and not of royal blood. His singularity, caprice, boundless extravagance, and frantic tyranny have led to the supposition that he was insane. He joined the second grand coalition against France, but afterwards abandoned his allies, and concluded peace with Buonaparte. He was about to engage in a war with England, when he was seized and strangled in his palace by a band of conspirators. The murder was supposed to have received the sanction of his own son and successor, Alexander, and no attempt was made to punish the regicides. Paul left four sons: Alexander, afterwards emperor; the Grand Duke Constantine, who died in 1831; the late emperor, Nicholas; and the Grand Duke Michael, who died in 1849.

ALEXANDER became emperor in 1801. He adopted pacific measures towards England, and disbanded an army of 45,000 Cossacks, whom his father had collected for the insane purpose of marching overland to India. Alexander refused to acknowledge the imperial dignity of Napoleon, and joined the Austrian alliance against him. The great Corsican, however, humiliated his enemies at the gigantic and brilliant battle of Austerlitz. In 1806, the Russian troops were poured into Moldavia and Wallachia. The defeat of the Russians, in 1807, at the battle of Friedland, led to an interview between Buonaparte and Alexander, on a raft

at Tilsit, and peace soon followed. Napoleon opened a scheme for the division of Europe between them; but the two lions could not agree as to their respective shares of the spoil. In 1809, Alexander wrested Finland from the chivalrous Gustavus of Sweden, and annexed it to Russia. Alexander also pursued the aggressive policy of his ancestors against the Turks, whom, after three savage but indecisive campaigns, he stripped of Bessarabia. Napoleon's "continental system," by which England was to be reduced, by having all the ports of Europe closed against her, inflicted enormous injury upon the trade of Russia. Alexander, therefore, refused to support it, and this led to a quarrel between him and the French emperor. The result was, the invasion of Russia by Napoleon in the autumn of 1812, with an army of nearly half a million of men. Such an array of armed hosts had not been seen in Europe since the time when every nation poured forth its thousands to Palestine to rescue the tomb of Christ from the Turks. The fearful battle of Borodino followed: 10,000 French, and 15,000 Russians, were left dead upon the field, while the wounded were too many to be numbered. The victorious Napoleon pushed on to Moscow, and took up his quarters within the stupendous walls of the Kremlin. The next night the city was discovered to be in flames; and a month afterwards commenced that awful retreat of the French army, the details of which can scarcely be read without sensations of sickness, shuddering, and horror. The result is well known. Nine-tenths of that vast host either perished by the freezing blasts of the north and the lance of the Cossacks, or were taken prisoners. Napoleon himself fled back to Paris, his heart wrung with agony at the colossal reverse he had sustained; and in his public announcement of his calamity, confessed that, with the exception of the imperial guard, he had no longer an army. Alexander had his revenge by afterwards entering Paris in triumph.

After the downfall of Napoleon, Russia became the head of what is termed the Holy Alliance. It was a sort of bond entered into by herself, Austria, Prussia, and France, for the suppression of revolutionary principles. That despotic combination, whose name of *Holy* reminds us of Mephistopheles in the cathedral, listening with a sardonic smile to the chanting of the vespers, set its iron feet on the neck of liberty, and sedn-



lously rebuilt every shattered tyranny throughout Europe. The heart of the Russian czar was no doubt cheered by the holy and congenial work. The latter years of Alexander's life were haunted by fears of that spirit of liberty which he and his holy accomplices—forgetful that it is immortal—had tried in vain to slay. Many of his officers and nobles had visited France and England, and there imbibed principles which made them uneasy under despotism; and, to the alarm of the czar, they wished to introduce constitutional forms of government. Alexander died suddenly at the age of forty-eight, not without suspicions being entertained that his death was caused by violence. An insurrection immediately broke out, but was suppressed by Nicholas, though not without bloodshed. The Grand Duke Constantine was the legitimate successor; but Alexander had left a sealed packet, which contained a peremptory command to proclaim Nicholas as the future emperor. Nicholas hesitated; but, from some mysterious cause, Constantine renounced the sovereign dignity, and declared that he would acknowledge none but his brother as the czar.

NICHOLAS, the late Emperor of Russia, was born on the 6th of July, 1796; united to the sister of the King of Prussia on the 13th of July, 1817; and succeeded his brother, Alexander, as emperor, on the 1st of December, 1825. His coronation took place at Moscow, in 1826; and during the subsequent year he was also crowned as King of Poland. On the latter occasion, Nicholas knelt before the altar, and, with dramatic hypoerisy, uttered the following prayer—admirable indeed in itself, but which cannot but be regarded as a blasphemous mockery, when proceeding from the lips of a despot, who had enslaved the people he was about to govern with a rod of iron, and correct with a whip of scorpions:—"May my heart," said the unblushing czar, "O, my God and master, be in thy hand! and may I reign for the happiness of my people, and for the glory of Thy holy name, according to the charter granted by my august predecessor, and sworn to by me, in order that I may not fear to appear before Thee in the day of Thy eternal judgment." Nicholas had too clear a head not to be aware, that hollow pretensions to religion ever form the firmest supports of despotism.

Constantine was appointed viceroy of Poland, and by his tyranny and repeated infractions of its constitution, provoked a

general insurrection of the people. The history of the awful campaign by which it was crushed, and Warsaw taken, should be written in letters of fire and blood. Finally, many thousands of Poles were sent to wear out their wretched lives in the inclement regions of Siberia; and the vengeance of the czar, after being sated with bloodshed, was content with incorporating Poland with Russia. It has since been governed as a conquered country. England and France looked on with indifference while Poland perished, and the present war is the penalty they have to pay for their ungenerous apathy.

Before this sad event, the Greeks had rebelled against the dominion of Turkey, and England concluded a treaty with France and Russia to interpose in their behalf. It was asserted that the interference of the European powers was demanded by humanity and the common interest of all nations. The evacuation of Greece was insisted on; and also that something little short of absolute independence should be granted to its people. The astonished Sultan Mahmoud replied, through his minister, "'God and my right!'"—such is the motto of England: what better answer can we give, when you threaten to attack us?" The battle of Navarino and the destruction of the Turkish fleet followed;—no doubt, greatly to the delight of Nicholas, who must have chuckled in secret to see England and France unwittingly forwarding the aim of his guilty ambition.\* The following year (1828) a Russian army invaded Turkey; and though repulsed at first, eventually succeeded in crossing the Balkan, and occupying Adrianople. By a treaty concluded at that place in 1829, Russia acquired many frontier fortresses on the Black Sea, and the *protectorate* of Moldavia and Wallachia.

That unfortunate treaty—one of the heaviest blows dealt by Russia at Turkish independence—has been much referred to and discussed during the existing war. Lord Aberdeen had been charged, not only with indifference to the Ottoman cause, but with being strongly prejudiced in favour of the Russian emperor. So much so, that a powerful feeling of angry irritation was excited against him, and a large moiety of the press and the people called loudly for his dismissal from the august position of

\* Lord St. Helen's once humorously and acutely observed, that Navarino was a capital battle,—only we knocked down the wrong man.

premier of the British cabinet. In his defence, Lord Aberdeen produced, in the house of peers, a copy of a criticism on the treaty of Adrianople, in which he analyzed, one by one, the concessions which it extorted from the Ottoman government. It is in the form of a despatch addressed by him when serving as secretary of foreign affairs in the ministry of the late Duke of Wellington, to Lord Heytesbury, then ambassador at Russia. It is so masterly and statesmanlike an analysis of the treaty of which we are speaking, and it possesses such an historical interest as regards the past, and such a political interest in reference to the present, that we shall offer no apology for its introduction unabbreviated. To quote the language of a contemporary writer, "we rejoice that this despatch has been produced, and we hope it will be circulated in every language of Europe, and will become as well known to the world as it has long been to the Russian cabinet:"—

"Foreign-office, October 31, 1829.

"My Lord,—I have received from his imperial majesty's ambassador at this court a copy of the definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Porte, together with the manifesto of the Russian cabinet, and a circular despatch from Count Nesselrode, dated the 4th of October.

"These papers have engaged the serious attention of his majesty's government. The consequences of the transaction to which they refer are so various and important, and influence so powerfully the future happiness and tranquillity of all nations, that it would be inconsistent with the station which his majesty fills among the sovereigns of Europe, as well as with that frankness and sincerity which he is desirous should characterise all his relations with the cabinet of St. Petersburg, if he were not at once to communicate to his imperial majesty the sentiments which have been produced in his mind by an examination of the treaty of Adrianople.

"The first desire of his majesty is to express the satisfaction which he has experienced from the restoration of peace. He sincerely rejoices that a state of warfare should at length have ceased, the existence of which he has constantly deplored, and the prolonged duration of which had only increased his majesty's apprehensions of the evils to which it must finally have led.

"Count Nesselrode, at the conclusion of his circular despatch, expresses an opinion that the treaty now concluded holds out to Europe a long prospect of tranquillity and repose. That this judgment may be fully confirmed is our most anxious desire. In the meantime, it will be an object worthy of the solicitude of his

imperial majesty to strengthen the confidence of his allies, and to remove those causes of alarm to which, if not discovered in the treaty of peace itself, the present state of the Turkish empire cannot fail to give rise.

"When his imperial majesty announced his intention of declaring war against the Ottoman Porte, upon grounds affecting exclusively the interests of Russia, his majesty's government, without pronouncing any opinion respecting the justice of the war, expressed their conviction that the most complete success in the justest cause would not entitle the stronger party to demand from the weaker sacrifices which would affect its political existence, or would infringe upon that state of territorial possession upon which the general peace had rested. They also observed that demands of indemnity and compensation might be carried to such an extent as to render compliance scarcely practicable, without reducing the Ottoman power to a degree of weakness which would deprive it of the character of an independent state.

"His imperial majesty, in carrying into execution his threatened invasion of the Ottoman dominions, declared his adherence to that disinterested principle which had characterised the protocol of St. Petersburg and the treaty of London. He renounced all projects of conquest and ambition. His imperial majesty frequently repeated that, so far from desiring the destruction of the Turkish empire, he was most anxious for its preservation. He promised that no amount of indemnity should be exacted which could affect its political existence; and he declared that this policy was not the result of romantic notions of generosity, or of the vain desire of glory, but that it originated in the true interests of the Russian empire, in which interests, well understood, and in his own solemn promises, would be found the best pledges of his moderation.

"His imperial majesty added that his thoughts would undergo no change, even if, contrary to his intentions and his endeavours, Divine Providence had decreed that we should now behold the termination of the Ottoman power. His imperial majesty was still determined not to extend the limits of his own dominions; and he only demanded from his allies the same absence of all selfish and ambitious views, of which he would himself give the first example.

"Does the treaty of Adrianople place the Porte in a situation corresponding with the expectations raised by these assurances? The answer must be left to the judgment of Europe: it might be left to the dispassionate judgment of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

"Undoubtedly, if we look only at the relative position of the two belligerents, the fortune of the war might have enabled the emperor to exact still harder terms. The sultan, threatened by a formidable insurrection in Constantinople,



having lost his army, and having ordered the remaining Asiatic troops to retire to their homes, was unable to offer any effectual opposition, and threw himself under the mercy of the Russian commander. By the persuasion of the British and French ambassadors, and of the minister extraordinary of the King of Prussia, the defeated monarch was induced to place entire confidence in the moderation of his imperial majesty.

"It may not be easy to accuse of want of generosity the conqueror who checks the unresisted progress of success, and who spares the defenceless capital of his enemy. Nevertheless, the treaty in question, certainly not in conformity with the expectations held out by preceding declarations and assurances, appears vitally to affect the interests, the strength, the dignity, the present safety, and future independence of the Ottoman empire.

"The modes of domination may be various, although all equally irresistible. The independence of a state may be overthrown and its subjection effectually secured without the presence of a hostile force, or the permanent occupation of its soil. Under the present treaty the territorial acquisitions of Russia are small, it must be admitted, in extent, although most important in their character. They are commanding positions, far more valuable than the possession of barren provinces and depopulated towns, and better calculated to rivet the fetters by which the sultan is bound.

"The cession of the Asiatic fortresses, with their neighbouring districts, not only secures to Russia the uninterrupted occupation of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, but places her in a situation so commanding as to control at pleasure the destiny of Asia Minor.

"Prominently advanced into the centre of Armenia, in the midst of a Christian population, Russia holds the keys both of the Persian and the Turkish provinces; and, whether she may be disposed to extend her conquests to the east or to the west, to Teheran or to Constantinople, no serious obstacle can arrest her progress.

"In Europe the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia are rendered virtually independent of the Porte. A tribute is, indeed, to be paid to the sultan, which he has no means of enforcing, except by the permission and even the assistance of Russia herself; and a prince, elected for life, is to demand investiture which cannot be withheld. The Mussulman inhabitants are to be forcibly expelled from the territory. The ancient right of pre-emption is abolished; and the supplies indispensable for Constantinople, for the Turkish arsenals, and for the fortresses are entirely cut off. The most important fortresses upon the Danube are to be razed, and the frontier left exposed and unprotected against incursions which at any future time may be attempted.

"It is sufficient to observe of the stipulations respecting the islands of the Danube, that their effect must be to place the control of the navigation and commerce of that river exclusively in the hands of Russia.

"Servia, by the incorporation of the six districts referred to in the treaty, is erected into an independent and powerful state; and when the allied powers shall have finally decided upon the character of the government, and the limits to be assigned to Greece, the circle will be completed of territories nominally dependent or tributary, but which must be animated with the most hostile spirit; and the recognition of which by the powers of Europe is scarcely compatible with the security, perhaps not with the existence of the Turkish empire.

"The commercial privileges and personal immunities which are secured by the treaty to the subjects of Russia appear to be at variance with any notion we are able to form of the authority of a sovereign and independent prince. It is true that by capitulations with the Porte, in consequence of the defective administration of justice by the Turkish government, rights have been obtained by European nations of such a description as would not have been conceded by the states of Christendom. These rights have not only been still further extended by the present treaty, but the stipulations, so far from being drawn up in the spirit of peace, are to all appearance rather calculated to invite and justify the renewal of hostilities. What reasonable prospect of 'eternal peace, friendship, and good understanding' can be afforded by an instrument which contains a special provision, making the calamities of war almost dependent upon the capricious extortion of a Turkish officer, or the unauthorised arrogance of a Russian trader?

"His majesty's government are persuaded that it will be impossible for his imperial majesty to reflect upon the terms of Article 7 of the treaty of Adrianople, without perceiving at once that they must be utterly subversive of the independence of the Ottoman power.

"This article stipulates that merchant vessels of all nations, without any restriction of size or tonnage, shall be admitted to pass freely through the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The right of visit on the part of the Turkish government is expressly excluded. This provision not only deprives the Porte of the exercise of a right in its own waters, inherent in the very nature of independent sovereignty; but it also destroys a necessary protection against the effects of foreign hostility or domestic treachery. The power of marching a Russian army, at any moment, through any part of the Turkish territory, without the permission of the government, could not be more degrading or more dangerous.

"Such stipulations are not only destructive of the territorial rights of sovereignty, and

threatening to the safety of the Porte, but their obvious tendency is to affect the condition and the interests of all maritime states in the Mediterranean, and may demand from those states the most serious consideration.

"How is the true character of the vessel to be ascertained? In former treaties the bulk and the amount of tonnage to be admitted had been fixed by Russia herself, and was regulated by what had been found to be most usual and most advantageous in the navigation of those seas. The right of search, for the purpose of ascertaining the nature and value of the cargo, with a view to fix the duties to be levied on importation, was very generally relinquished by the Porte in its practice towards the vessels of foreign powers; the ship's manifest transmitted from the consul's office being admitted as sufficient evidence of the nature of the cargo, instead of proof derived from actual inspection. But the right of visit, in order to ascertain the character of the vessel, and the object of the voyage, has never been relinquished, and can never be relinquished by a state in any degree careful of its own independence and of its safety.

"The Porte is not only prohibited from exercising any interference with the free passage of the straits by Russian ships, but it is also divested of this indispensable attribute of sovereignty in its relations with all other powers, and that, too, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Emperor of Russia.

"If the Turkish government should detain and visit a ship belonging to any foreign state, the injury would not be offered to that state, with which, perhaps, no treaty may exist, but to the Emperor of Russia, who, according to the terms of the article in question, would at once be furnished with a justifiable cause of war against the Porte. But suppose any such state were fraudulently to send an armed vessel, or a vessel carrying armed men, into the waters of the Turkish dominion, and under the walls of the seraglio, with purposes the most hostile, would his imperial majesty, by the treaty of Adrianople, become responsible for such an act? In either case the sultan would be entirely dependent upon Russia in a matter in which the dignity and security of his government were vitally affected.

"Is it too much to say that such stipulations are inconsistent with the desire of his imperial majesty to preserve the independence of the Turkish empire.

"His majesty's government have always been persuaded that the power of imposing a pecuniary burden upon the Ottoman Porte, as a compensation and an indemnity for the expenses of the war, would be exercised in the promised spirit of equity and of moderation. His imperial majesty cannot fail to reflect that, in judging of the character of such a transaction, it is necessary to compare the sum exacted, not only with the

expenses of the war, but with the means of the power upon which the payment is imposed. The cabinet of St. Petersburg will undoubtedly acquiesce in the principle that indemnities, whether pecuniary or territorial, ought not by their operation to crush the Power by whom they are given, or to expose by their consequences the military security of neighbouring and allied states. The emperor is too wise not to desire, even in the midst of conquest and success, to maintain inviolate that system established for the general tranquillity of Europe, in which his imperial majesty's august predecessor took so prominent and so honourable a part. It is, therefore, with sincere satisfaction that his majesty's government have learnt from the declaration made by Count Nesselrode to your excellency, for the purpose of being transmitted to your government, 'that it was in contemplation not only to diminish the amount of the sum stipulated, but also to make a different arrangement with respect to its guarantee.' It is by such conduct that his imperial majesty will really manifest his generosity, and his regard for those principles of just and enlarged policy by which alone can be secured the confidence of his allies and the respect of Europe.

"Even if the emperor were not thus to yield at once to the impulse of his own disposition, the same determination would still be recommended by considerations of prudence, as being essential to the success of objects which he has professed to have much at heart. His imperial majesty has declared, that a regard for the true interests of Russia induced him to feel more desirous than any other European power of maintaining the independent existence and integrity of the Ottoman empire. He has also repeatedly avowed, that the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte demanded his constant solicitude, and that the obligations both of his own conscience and of public treaties imposed upon him the special duty of consulting their welfare and providing for their protection. These objects, at all times difficult to reconcile, would, under the strict execution of the treaty, become altogether incompatible with each other. The real situation of the Turkish power is too obvious to escape the most common observation. The sultan is surrounded by independent states, formed out of his own territories, and with the great mass of the European population of his empire anxiously waiting for the moment when they may profit by this example, and shake off his dominion altogether. Defeated and reduced to the lowest degree of humiliation, he has retained his throne and political existence by the mercy of his conqueror. The disaffection of his Mohammedan subjects of all ranks, whether produced by repeated disgrace or the effect of a gradual change long since in operation, has become general. In this condition, with a broken authority and exhausted resources, he is called



upon to provide for the indemnity which is exacted from him. In what manner is the sultan to relieve himself from this burden, and by whom must the sacrifices principally be made? If the Turkish government be still permitted to act at all as an independent power, it is clear that the necessary sums must be raised by fresh impositions upon the people, and by such means as are authorised by the law and customs of the empire. It is equally certain that the Christian subjects of the Porte must largely contribute to furnish these supplies. Compliance with the demands of the government will be difficult, but the urgency of the case will justify severity. Resistance may be attempted; if successful, leading to general confusion and revolt; if otherwise, spoliation and oppression will follow. At all events, new scenes of calamity will be opened calculated to frustrate the admitted objects of his imperial majesty, and fatally destructive both to the independence of the Porte and to the happiness and prosperity of the Christian subjects of the empire.

"There are other considerations which ought to have their due weight in the mind of his imperial majesty.

"It cannot be doubted that the result of the war has been such as to change entirely the relative position of the belligerents towards each other, as well as towards the neighbouring states and the rest of Europe. This change, it may be admitted, is to a certain extent the natural consequence of an unequal contest; for at the termination of hostilities, characterised on one side by the most signal success, and on the other by continued disaster, it would be unreasonable to suppose that the parties could in every respect resume their former relations. It is, therefore, not exclusively to the conditions of the peace, but also to the events of the war, that we are to ascribe the change which has taken place. In whatever manner it may have been accomplished, the fact is sufficient to justify some anxiety on the part of these powers, who have always felt a deep interest in the preservation of the system of the European balance established by the treaty of Paris and at the congress of Vienna. This anxiety must be greatly increased when, in addition to the unavoidable weakness and prostration of the Turkish power, it is found that fresh causes are brought into action which are obviously calculated to hasten and ensure its utter dissolution. The evils attending upon uncertainty, expectation, and alarm must be universally felt throughout Europe. Encouragement will be afforded to projects the most adverse to the general tranquillity; and the different powers, so far from disarming, will probably augment their warlike preparations, already too extensive for a state of peace.

"It is only by a frank and cordial desire on the part of his imperial majesty to remove all

reasonable grounds of suspicion and apprehension—it is only by a sincere endeavour, in conjunction with his allies, to confirm and perpetuate the repose which has hitherto been enjoyed, and by making this the main object of European policy, that we shall be enabled to avert the threatened dangers. In this salutary work his imperial majesty will assuredly call to mind the example of his illustrious predecessor; and he will recollect that, whatever may have been the glories of his reign, the last ten years of his life, devoted exclusively to the preservation of peace, eminently entitled him to the gratitude of Europe.

"I am to instruct your excellency to read this despatch to Count Nesselrode, and, if desired, to give his excellency a copy. The sentiments of his majesty are expressed without reserve, but with cordial and friendly feelings. They are expressed, too, without previous concert or communication with any other power whatsoever.

"I am, &c.,

"ABERDEEN."

The efforts of Nicholas had, ever since his accession, been constantly directed to the extension of his already overgrown territories. His proceedings had, on several occasions, excited a jealous and hostile feeling in England. The march of a Persian army, headed by Russian officers, in 1838, against Herat in Cabool, was looked upon as being a proper preliminary to the invasion of our Indian empire. These apprehensions were tranquillised by the repulse of the Persians, and subsequently still further so by the conquest of Afghanistan by the British arms. Such was the state of things previously to the breaking out of the present war.

Some account of the personal appearance, and some estimate of the mental powers and moral character of Nicholas, will afford an interest alike to the philosopher, the politician, the light reader, and the man of the world. The late Emperor of Russia was of colossal proportions, about six feet two or three inches high, and possessing a great breadth of chest and shoulders. His features were handsome, his face of the Grecian cast; and the general expression of it that of calmness, coldness, and dignity. The glance of his eye was singularly commanding. Many writers declare it to have been absolutely magnetic. A Russian noble, Ivan Golovin, said of him, "His eye is that of a despot; and nothing delights him so much as to see people stand in awe of him. The man who looks at him with a

steady eye, will never be one of his favourites." Amongst other anecdotes of the same kind it is related, that when Nicholas landed suddenly at Stockholm without being announced, a Swedish admiral, who did not recognise him, got mixed with the throng of his attendants. The emperor, turning suddenly round, fixed a searching glance on the face of the mariner. The admiral was so disconcerted and impressed by the commanding gaze fixed upon him, that he involuntarily uncovered his head; and afterwards observed, "What a devil of a man! and what eyes! On my faith, as a sailor, I never saw his equal!" Mr. Thompson, in his *Life in Russia*, makes mention of these wonderful eyes. He observes, "At Tsarkoe Selo I had the fortune to meet the emperor in a retired garden, *en negligé*; I say fortune, because, demi-god as he is, it is unusual to see him in mortal guise, undistinguished by the trappings of royalty and the proud bearing and theatrical deportment habitual to him. I went at his side without recognising him in his loose surtout and travelling cap, strolling along in contemplation; and it was not till our eyes met, that I felt his presence—yes, *felt* is the only applicable term; for it is impossible to withstand his eagle glance without an undefinable sensation of awe." It is said, that his mouth sometimes smiled, but his eyes never. They were as cold, stern, and unsympathising as those of the fabled sphinx of Thebes. Like the sphinx, he also has proposed a question difficult to be solved; but England and France will doubtless play the part of Oedipus, and answer his riddle. Colonel Cameron observed, "that if any human being was ever qualified for a monarch by the exterior advantages of majestic figure and high and kingly bearing, it is the Emperor Nicholas."

Such was Nicholas in appearance while in the pride of his power. The anxiety of the war which his ambition had created, and the fears that must have obtruded into that stern mind, that his unjust schemes might terminate disastrously, wrought a remarkable change in him. Some English engineers, who saw him at St. Petersburg (where they were waiting for passports to return to their native country) shortly after the breaking out of the war, describe him as having looked twenty years' older than when they had seen him at Cronstadt a few months before. He who had been so conspicuous for his erect and haughty

bearing, appeared bowed with age and infirmity. Little, however, was it then supposed that the emperor was so speedily to pay the penalty of his ambition. Mental excitement, produced by the military reverses he had experienced, incessant activity in mind and body, and the bitterness of knowing that his armies had been baffled, his coasts invaded, and his fleets compelled to slink behind stone batteries for protection against the navies of the allies, arrested him suddenly in his career, and laid the mighty despot in the dust. He died soon after midnight of the 1st of March, 1855, after a few days' illness. The cause of his death was an attack of pulmonie apoplexy. In this place we shall do no more than mention the fact. The particulars of his decease, the causes which led to it, and the results to which it gave rise, will be fully detailed in this work in the place which the historical order of events assigns to them.

It is said that Nicholas affected, in some matters, to imitate the great Napoleon; but though a man of far more than average intellect, he could not for a moment stand comparison with that extraordinary individual. Nicholas was indefatigable in his attention to business: he controlled and inspected every department of the state affairs himself, and frequently travelled from place to place with so much rapidity, and made his appearance at different government offices at times when he was so little expected, that, to his astonished officials, he seemed almost to possess the power of ubiquity. The absolute despotism pervading every branch of his government, depended almost entirely on his personal activity and intellectual energy. It must be admitted that this was but a frail support against the dangers that threaten the colossal but unstable fabric both from within and without. The constitution of every despotic government may be likened to the house built upon sand spoken of in the scripture parable. When the rain falls, and the wind arises, and the storm beats heavily against that house, it falls to ruin. The mansion built upon the rock that resists the hurricane,—that stands firm amidst political troubles at home, and startling wars abroad,—is the state whose constitution is based upon justice, and whose soil is imprest by the feet of the genius of freedom.

Nicholas was described as a kind husband and father. His attention to his invalid



empress, who for many years has been suffering from a nervous affection, was very great. He treated her with compassionate affection, and sometimes even carried her in his arms up the staircase to her chamber. On the other hand, his adulteries were spoken of as being numerous, and in some cases heartless. He usually kept at least one mistress; but that, we presume, is to be regarded as a matter of course for a Russian emperor. Indeed, until the reign of George III., few English sovereigns were without their one or two mistresses. Nicholas was sometimes very affable and condescending, especially towards foreigners of ability. It went far towards creating him a good name in Europe—a point on which he was very susceptible. He was, however, harsh and cruel, and frequently presided in person at military executions. It is said he never altered sentences, except to add to their severity. Of course he did not originate the barbarous punishments of the knout and the plitt, but he sanctioned the continuance of them in all their hideous severity. The infliction of the knout is a torture infinitely worse than the rack, and the wretched victims frequently die under it. They are carried away to the hospital with the blood gushing in all directions from the lacerated green and blue flesh, and frequently with their bones broken by the strokes of the dreadful instrument. Barbarous punishments bespeak a savage nation and a merciless prince.

Of the moral character of such a man it is difficult to speak otherwise than in language of condemnation. Ivan Golovin (the Russian noble whose work has been already quoted), however, after bitterly condemning the emperor, says—"Notwithstanding all that I have said, I do not think Nicholas is a tyrant by nature, but only from *conviction*. He is persuaded that if he acted otherwise, public affairs could not succeed. The habit of governing upon this principle has given him a taste for cruelty. The Russians say that it requires an iron hand to govern them, but that the hand should be gloved. Nicholas has the iron hand, but he has forgotten the glove." It must further be admitted, that though the emperor ruled with a sleepless despotism, that he directed his great energies to the advancement of his country. He did much towards the introduction into it of manufactures, the arts, and improved modes of agriculture. As a statesman he was utterly

without principle: always ready to obtain the objects of his crafty ambition by the sacrifice of his honour.

The Emperor Nicholas left four sons and two daughters. Alexander Nicolaiwitch Cesarewitch, and hereditary grand-duke, was born on the 29th of April, 1818, and married, on the 28th of April, 1841, to Maria Alexandrovna, formerly Maximilienne Wilhelmina Augusta Sophia Maria, daughter of the late Louis II., Grand-duke of Hesse. By this lady the present emperor has had three children—Nicholas, Vladimir, and Alexis. The other sons of the late emperor were—Constantine, born on the 21st of September, 1827; Nicholas, born on the 8th of August, 1831; and Michael, born on the 25th of October, 1832. The Grand-duchess Maria, the late emperor's eldest daughter, was born on the 8th of August, 1819; married on the 14th of July, 1839, to Maximilian, Duke of Leuchtenberg and Prince of Eichthdt, and became a widow on the 1st of November, 1852. The Grand-duchess Olga, the second daughter of the late czar, was born on the 10th of September, 1822; and married to Charles, Prince-royal of Wurtemberg, on the 13th of July, 1846. Nicholas was survived by his empress and by two sisters—Maria Paulovna, Dowager Grand-duchess of Saxe-Weimar; and Anne Paulovna, widow of William II., King of Holland.

Alexander assumed the government at St. Petersburg on Saturday, the 3rd of March, and received homage as emperor. He was reported to be averse to the aggressive warfare which his father had commenced; and it was added that, on that account, he was unpopular with the more influential portion of the military nobility. His brother Constantine, nine years his junior, inherited his father's traditions concerning the extension of Russian power; and it was feared that a strenuous effort might be made to place him on the throne, instead of his wiser and more pacific brother.

A word or two respecting the most distinguished official persons attached to the service of the Russian court, may be both appropriate and acceptable. Charles Albert, Count Nesselrode, the chief adviser of the late emperor, is regarded as one of the most able statesmen of Europe. He is now (1854) at the advanced age of eighty-four, and cannot therefore be expected long to direct the measures of the new sovereign. Count

Gregory Orloff, the minister of police, is a *young* man in comparison with Nesselrode, being only in his sixty-seventh year. Evil rumours blacken his name; and it is whispered that he poisoned the Emperor

Alexander, and other persons of distinction. Prince Mentschikoff is the minister of marine; Prince Paskewitsch and Prince Woronzoff both enjoy high military reputation.

#### GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND EDUCATION IN RUSSIA.

THE government of Russia is despotic: the emperor is absolute, and his decrees are regarded as laws. The business of the country is carried on by three councils.

First.—The Council of the Empire, which is presided over by the czar, or by a member specially appointed. It is composed of forty persons, comprising the imperial princes, the statesmen, generals, and admirals. The latter are named by the emperor; and all the proceedings of this assembly are submitted to him. The council is divided into four departments:—first, the legislative; second, the military and naval; third, the civil and ecclesiastical affairs; and fourth, the financial.

Second.—The Directing Senate, which consists of about a hundred members, also chosen by the emperor, who presides at its meetings, and can annul its decisions. It is divided into several departments, the first of which superintends the general affairs of the country, and the others try civil and criminal cases.

Third.—The Synod, or as it is officially called, the Most Holy Directing Synod, which is the supreme administrative and judicial court for all ecclesiastical affairs. The emperor, as head of the church, controls its decisions.

The affairs of the empire are immediately attended to by the following ministries:—

1. Ministry of the imperial household: 2. Ministry of foreign affairs: 3. Ministry of interior affairs, or home department: 4. Ministry of war: 5. Ministry of marine: 6. Ministry of national education: 7. Ministry of finance: 8. Ministry of justice: 9. The board of control of the empire, which audits the accounts of all moneys expended for the public service: 10. Ministry of the post department: and 11. Ministry of the general direction of land and water communication.

Nicholas, immediately after he ascended the imperial throne, declared that a systematically arranged collection of the existing laws and ordinances should become the

basis of legislation. The result was a collection of them from 1649, until the death of the Emperor Alexander, in 1825, which were published in forty-eight quarto volumes. They were followed by a collection of the ordinances of Nicholas, from his accession to 1832, in eight quarto volumes.

The established religion of Russia is a branch of the Greek church; for an account of which see page 15. It differs from that form of Christianity chiefly in the fact, that the emperor is its head and protector. Alexander is thus the pope as well as the sovereign of his people. The Russian church was governed by a patriarch, but Peter the Great contrived to abolish that office. His reason for so doing was, that the common people, not understanding the difference that exists between spiritual authority and that of a secular king, were dazzled by the honours paid to the patriarch, and so came gradually to regard him as a second potentate, whose authority was equal to that of the czar.

The Russian church contains forty dioceses, divided into three classes. The first is governed by metropolitans; the second by archbishops; and the third by bishops. There are four ecclesiastical academies in Russia, besides numerous seminaries. All the sons of the clergy are compelled to be educated at the latter, many of which contain colleges where the poorer students are maintained gratis. This compulsory education has the effect of producing some learned men; but the clergy generally are described as ignorant and servile. "The Russian people," observes the Marquis de Custine, "in the present day is the most believing of Christian nations: yet its faith has but little fruit; because, when a church abjures its liberty it loses its moral efficacy: a slave itself, it only engenders slaves." He adds, that the Christian religion has lost its virtue in Russia, and become merely the tool of despotism. The service in the churches is performed in the old Slavonic, now a dead language. It is full of repetitions; is generally



recited in a very slovenly manner, and forms a most unedifying mumbling. Probably the emperor may have a desire that the worship of the Deity should be so conducted. The precepts of Christianity clearly read to the people, and understood by them, might induce a state of mind not favourable to despotism. If the common people were familiar with the records of the Old Testament, they might soon take a lesson from its pages, and rend the frosty air of Russia with the ominous shout that startled Rehoboam—"To your tents, O Israel!" That cry once echoed through England; and some time after, a perjured monarch perished on the scaffold.

It may seem strange, that notwithstanding the mental apathy of the great mass of the Russian people, and their blind submission to authority, that dissenters are very numerous amongst them. They are called *Raskolniks*, from the Russian verb *raskolot* (to split.) Some sects entertain the most wildly extravagant notions. One sort consider shaving such a deadly sin, that the holy blood of the martyrs will not purify the rash man who commits it. Another party are distinguished by their occasional desire to burn or starve themselves to death. Suicide they justify from the following text from St. Mark, c. viii., v. 35:—"For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, shall save it." Some of these unhappy wretches perish in a vain attempt to fast for forty days, in imitation of Christ in the wilderness. A third sect choose a man from among their number to represent the Saviour, and a woman to personate the Virgin, and then worship them. Among the Cossacks of the Don exist a numerous sect called Chinkmen, because while saying their prayers they keep their eyes fixed on a chink, through which a ray of light is passing. They never go to church, because God dwells not in a house made with hands, but is omnipresent. But perhaps the climax of fanatic absurdity is reached by the members of a certain sect, many of whom believing that by calculation they had discovered the very day and hour of the final judgment, dug their graves, and dressing themselves in their shrouds, lay down in the earth to meet it becomingly. As the time rolled on, and the expected destruction did not arrive, these superstitious idiots were compelled by

the cravings of hunger to get up and attend to their usual business.

Education in Russia is under the direction of the state. It is probable that this is to prevent the growth of liberal ideas; for an ukase of 1831 prohibits all Russian subjects, except those who are employed on diplomatic service, from educating their children abroad. But whatever the motive, the result is a favourable one; and it must not be forgotten, that in Russia, civilisation and the instruction of the people have originated with the government. The following extract from a manifesto of the Emperor Nicholas, of the 13th of July, 1826, is creditable to him:—"Let the fathers of families direct all their attention to the moral education of their children. It is certainly not to the progress of civilisation, but to vanity (which produces only idleness and vacuity of mind), to the want of real instruction, that we must attribute the licentiousness of thought; those unbridled passions—that confused and fatal half-knowledge—that tendency to extreme theories and political visions, which begin with demoralising, and end by ruining their victims. Let the fear of God, and solid and patriotic instruction, be the basis of all hope of improvement—the first duty of all classes." Although we do not fully concur with these sentiments, still there is much to approve in them. The English government might take a hint from the emperor on the subject of popular education. In this country, the church oppose a grant for the purpose of national education, unless the clergy are made the sole guardians of it. The dissenters also oppose a grant of so one-sided a character; and, in the meantime, the lowest orders in England are becoming the most illiterate in Europe.

In Russia, the institutions for public education are public schools of all classes, under the minister of national instruction; military schools, ecclesiastical schools, and special schools, depending on different branches of the administration. The latter alone are 1,622 in number, and the government contributes about 10,000,000 roubles\* to their support. As the reader may suppose, that greatest teacher of a people—the press—is subject, in Russia, to a severe censorship.

\* The value of the silver rouble is nearly 3s. 3d. of English money; that of the paper rouble thirty to forty per cent. lower.

### CHAPTER III.

CAUSES OF THE WAR; THE HOLY PLACES; THE MENTSCHIKOFF NOTE; THE VIENNA NOTE; TURKISH DECLARATION OF WAR.

WE have shown that the Russian potentates had, for a long time, cast their eyes upon Constantinople, and were only waiting a convenient opportunity for its annexation to their broad dominions—by war, if war could not be prevented; but, if possible, in a quiet diplomatic sort of way;—in a way that was not calculated to alarm the great powers of Europe, until the czar had transferred the capital of his empire from the cold, damp, cheerless city of St. Petersburg, with its bitter frosts and dangerous floods, to Constantinople, with its warm climate, its brilliant skies, its palm-trees, gardens, and olive-groves. Such a change would, no doubt, have been very pleasant and desirable in the eyes of the emperor; but, for manifest reasons, very objectionable to the rest of Europe.

At length an event arose that seemed to promise the wished-for opportunity. The tomb of the Saviour of the world—of the Prince of Peace, was made the subject of incessant disputes between the Christians of the Greek church and those of the Roman catholic one.\* In a religious view this was a matter of serious regret; but, in a political one, we had nothing to do with the bickerings of two sets of monks at Jerusalem. No human eye could discern that so small a question would give rise to another large enough to disturb the peace of Europe, and probably, in the end, rock the towering empire of Russia to its foundations. Yet it was to be so. In 1851, Louis Napoleon—not then Emperor of the French, but probably contemplating his famous *coup-d'état*, and wishing for something to divert the minds of the people—sent M. Lavalette to Constantinople, with an imperious demand that certain privileges should be granted to the

Latin or Roman Catholic Christians. The startled sultan, threatened with the appearance of a French fleet in the Dardanelles, conceded the privileges demanded by the representative of the French government.

The Emperor of Russia was instantly on the alert. He regarded himself as the representative of the Greek Christians, and he immediately interposed in their behalf. He conceived (or pretended to conceive) that the privileges granted by the sultan to the Latin Christians derogated from the rights of the Greek ones, and especially from certain privileges recently granted to them by special firman. Upon the matter in question the sultan was indifferent; he did not regard the Greeks more than the catholics, for, in his eyes, they must of necessity both appear as infidels, contending for a worthless object. The dispute was between France and Russia, and the sultan was merely anxious to satisfy two powerful rivals without offending either. The courts of Russia and France grew warm upon the subject. Russian battalions began to muster on the confines of the Turkish principalities. The emperor expressed his determination to have an equivalent and compensation for the privileges of which the Greek church had been deprived. and a security by which those privileges should be fixed in future, while a French fleet hovered about the Mediterranean. These events, of course, attracted the notice of the English government, but it very properly observed a strictly impartial attitude. Its views are admirably expressed in the following despatch of Lord John Russell (then foreign secretary) to the English ambassador at Paris:—"Your excellency will understand therefore,—1. That into the merits of this dispute her majesty's government will

\* The extent to which these disgraceful quarrels were carried may be judged of from the following anecdote:—An English missionary having attempted to convert the Turkish Pasha of Jerusalem to Christianity, the latter inquired, "What are the advantages of your religion over mine?" "Peace on earth, and glory after death," was the reply. "As to glory after death," said the pasha, "our prophet promises that too; and I doubt not he is as likely as yours to keep his word. As to peace on earth, the church of the sepulchre has a band of Greek Christians on the one side, and a band of Roman

Christians on the other, and in the centre is a Turkish guard, to keep them from cutting each other's throats." We are tempted to exclaim with Mr. Cobden, "Truly, it is heart-sickening to find, upon a question connected with the Christian religion, that Europe was now, in our day, to be deluged with blood. It was enough to confirm the doctrine of the cynic,—that we made no progress in this world; that we were perpetually going through a cycle of instincts; that, we were going back to the times of the Crusades." However, though religion stirred men's passions, it is ambition that has drawn the sword.



not enter; 2. That her majesty's government disapprove of every threat, and still more the actual employment of force; and 3. That both parties should be told, that if they are sincere in their professions of a desire to maintain the independence of the Porte, they ought to abstain from the employment of any means calculated to display the weakness of the Ottoman empire. Above all, they ought to refrain from putting armies and fleets in motion for the purpose of making the tomb of Christ a cause of quarrel among Christians."

Such was the state of things when Prince Mentschikoff arrived at Constantinople as a special ambassador from St. Petersburg. Soon after his arrival, the Russian diplomatist (on the 2nd of March, 1853) paid his official visit to the grand vizier, but in a very pointed manner omitted the same compliment to the minister of foreign affairs. The arrogant and mysterious bearing of Prince Mentschikoff alarmed the sultan; and Colonel Rose (a gentleman who had the charge of British interests at Constantinople during the temporary absence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), was informed that "his highness (*i.e.* the sultan) entertained strong apprehensions that the mission of Prince Mentschikoff, far from being of a conciliatory character, as pretended, was, on the contrary, intended to involve the Porte in serious difficulties, and that the emperor's object appeared to be to trample under foot the rights of the Porte and the dignity and independency of the sovereign."

Colonel Rose shared these apprehensions, and sent a requisition to Admiral Dundas to bring the squadron of her majesty's fleet, stationed at Malta, to the Dardanelles. The admiral considered Colonel Rose's demand as precipitate, and declined to comply with it. In this he met the approval of the English government, who were disposed to place reliance on the Emperor of Russia's solemn assurance to uphold the Turkish empire. Anxious to preserve peace, they had no desire by a suspicious bearing to provoke war. The dispute still seemed to refer only to the Holy Places, and the interests of Europe were apparently not involved.

When Lord Stratford returned to Constantinople, he was informed by the Turkish ministers that Prince Mentschikoff had made a demand for a secret treaty, which, besides settling the dispute concerning the Holy

Places, was to define certain general relations between Russia and the Porte. These proposals, he added, must on no account be permitted to transpire. The suspicions of Lord Stratford concerning the conduct of the Russian government were awakened, and he advised the Turkish ministers to keep the question of the Holy Places separate from the ulterior proposals, and to avoid entering upon the latter until the former had been adjusted. To pacify the Porte, he added, "the personal character of the Emperor Nicholas, his obligations in common with the other great powers of Christendom, and his frequent declarations of respect for the independence of the Turkish empire, exclude the suspicion of any attempt to carry his point by mere arbitrary force. He lies under the restraint of moral as well as political considerations. He could not throw off the mask, and compel the Porte to accept, on no distinct grounds of treaty, propositions materially affecting the sultan's relations with a large portion of his subjects, and consequently, to a certain degree, his position in the general scale of power, without exposing himself to severe censure, and risking interests of the most important character. Were it, however, to turn out, contrary to all reasonable calculation, that his ambassador was authorised to proceed to extremities, the Porte would still have the resource of reserving its compliance until it had consulted with those of its allies, who, together with Russia, were parties to the treaty of 1841."

Notwithstanding the suspicions excited, and the vague conduct of Prince Mentschikoff, the moderation of the French government was so great when it learnt that the peace of Europe was likely to be disturbed, that it withdrew its demands, and the dispute died away. On the 25th of April, 1853, it was announced that the misunderstanding respecting the Holy Places was virtually adjusted. Both France and Russia announced themselves satisfied, and the British ambassador received the acknowledgments of the latter power for his valuable offices in restoring a good understanding. Still there was a certain mystery about the conduct of Russia; and the Russian forces remained upon the frontiers of Turkey, on the excuse that the emperor wanted an equivalent to the Greek church for the privileges he had lost. The mystery soon became apparent, and a few days afterwards,

on the 5th of May, Prince Mentschikoff presented to the Ottoman minister a communication, which is properly regarded as the immediate cause of war, and has given rise to events that have sent many thousands to premature and blood-stained graves. This was the now famous document called the "MENTSCHIKOFF NOTE."

By this production, Turkey was made a principal in a disagreement originally existing only between Russia and France. The object for which the emperor interfered was no longer the protection of the Greek priests at Jerusalem, but to obtain a power over *all* the subjects of the Ottoman empire who were attached to the Greek church, amounting to about 12,000,000 persons. The Mentschikoff note demanded, with stern politeness, that the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey be conceded to the Emperor of Russia. Other objectionable demands were made, but this was the principal. In imperious language, Prince Mentschikoff desired an answer within five days, and concluded his note with the following threatening sentence:—"He cannot consider a longer delay in any other light than as a want of respect towards his government, which would impose upon him the most painful duty." The sultan felt that his assent would invest the czar with a perpetual right of intervention in the concerns of nearly one-half of his subjects. Indeed, the Turkish minister correctly described the result of such a compliance as "a virtual partition of the empire."

The government of the sultan, though evidently alarmed at the strange demand made upon it, acted with great spirit. It replied, that the privileges granted to its Christian subjects were its own act, and not dictated or regulated by treaties with any foreign power. It therefore resolved to reject the demands made by the Mentschikoff note, as incompatible with the preservation of Turkish independence.

The Porte, however, laid the case before the ambassadors of both England and France, who immediately sent off couriers with the intelligence to their respective governments. The ministers of both countries considered the demands of Russia as inadmissible, but were anxious to prevent any misunderstanding which might give rise to hostilities. On the 31st of May, Lord Clarendon conveyed the opinions of the British government to our minister at St. Petersburg in the following terms of ex-

postulation:—"No sovereign, having a proper regard for his own dignity and independence, could admit proposals so undefined as those of Prince Mentschikoff, and by treaty confer upon another and a more powerful sovereign a right of protection over a large portion of his own subjects. However well disguised it may be, yet the fact is, that under the vague language of the proposed *séné*, a perpetual right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey would be conferred upon Russia; for, governed as the Greek subjects of the Porte are by their ecclesiastical authorities, and looking, as these latter would in all things do, for protection to Russia, it follows that 14,000,000 of Greeks (*i. e.*, members of the Greek church) would henceforward regard the emperor as their supreme protector, and their allegiance to the sultan would be little more than nominal, while his own independence would dwindle into vassalage." The French ambassador also admitted, on the part of his government, "the validity and force of the objections taken by the Ottoman ministers." The Prussian minister expressed a similar opinion. And Austria, although careful and hesitating, considered the proceedings of Prince Mentschikoff as dangerous.

Thus strengthened, the Turkish government refused to accede to the demands of Russia, and Prince Mentschikoff immediately left Constantinople. The Porte had a perfect right, according to the laws of nations, to resist such a demand as had been made upon her; but the coveted opportunity had arrived, and the czar resolved not to omit endeavouring to profit by it. In his extreme anxiety, however, to throw from himself the odium of disturbing the peace of Europe, he caused Count Nesselrode to address a final ultimatum, in the form of a letter to Redschid Pasha, minister of foreign affairs to the sultan. From it we extract the following important passage:—"The emperor, my master, has informed me that Prince Mentschikoff was *obliged* to quit Constantinople, after a stay there of three months, without having been able to obtain the guarantees which he demanded for the rights and privileges of the Greek church. The emperor considers the refusal of the Porte as a complete want of consideration—as an *affront* offered to his person. He approves completely of the conduct of his ambassador. In his solicitude for the preservation of the Ottoman empire, he recom-



mends the Porte to reflect once more on the disastrous consequences of its refusal, the whole responsibility of which must rest upon it; and he accords, for the purpose, a final delay of eight days. At the expiration of that period the Russian troops will cross the frontiers, not to wage war, but to obtain from the sultan the concessions which he refused to accord by the way of a friendly arrangement. Count de Nesselrode hopes, however, that the Porte, better advised, will yield before the emperor shall need to have recourse to means which are repugnant to his sentiments for the sultan, Abdul-Medjid, but the employment of which is imperatively imposed on him by his *conscience* and by that of his people.\* The eight days having expired, and the Turks remaining firm, the emperor gave orders that the Russian armies, under the command of Prince Gortschakoff, should cross the river Pruth, which divides Russia from the Danubian provinces. The order was given on the 25th of June, and instantly obeyed. The Russian troops destined for the occupation of Wallachia passed over the river at Leova; those intended for Moldavia crossed at Skouliany. The decisive step was thus taken, and the two-headed eagle made its first swoop. War was not declared, but an act of military aggression was performed. A deed was done which threw the Porte into consternation, the Turkish people into a state of fury, and which rendered the maintenance of peace impossible. The czar also issued the following manifesto to the Russian people:—

“By the grace of God, we, Nicholas I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., &c.,

“Making known to our faithful and well-beloved subjects, that from time immemorial our glorious predecessors took the vow to defend the orthodox faith.

“From the moment that it pleased Divine Providence to transmit to us the hereditary throne, the observation of those sacred duties which are inseparable from it has constantly been the object of our cares and solicitude. Based on the glorious treaty of Kainardji, confirmed by the solemn transactions concluded afterwards with the Ottoman Porte, those cares and solicitude have always had for their object to guarantee the rights of the orthodox church.

\* This document well deserves the fierce and stinging epithets applied to it by the venerable Lord Lyndhurst; namely, that it was “offensive, illogical, and insulting.”

“But to our profound affliction, notwithstanding all our efforts to defend the integrity of the rights and privileges of our orthodox church, latterly numerous arbitrary acts of the Ottoman government attacked those rights, and threatened finally to destroy entirely the whole order of things sanctioned by centuries, and so dear to the orthodox faith.

“Our efforts to dissuade the Porte from such acts have been fruitless, and even the solemn word which the sultan had given to us on the occasion has been violated.

“Having exhausted all the means of persuasion, and all the means of obtaining in a friendly manner the satisfaction due to our just reclamations, we have deemed it indispensable to order our troops to enter the Danubian principalities, to show the Porte to how far its obstinacy may lead it. Nevertheless, even now it is not our intention to commence war. By the occupation of the principalities we wish to have in our heart a pledge which will guarantee to us in every respect the re-establishment of our rights.

“We do not seek conquests. Russia does not need them. We demand satisfaction for a legitimate right openly infringed. We are ready even now to stop the movement of our troops, if the Ottoman Porte engages to observe religiously the integrity of the privileges of the orthodox church. But if obstruction and blindness obstinately desire the contrary, then, invoking God to our aid, we will leave to His care to decide our difference; and, placing our full hope in His all-powerful hand, we will march to the defence of the orthodox faith.

“Given at Peterhoff, the 14th (26th) of the month of June, 1853, in the twenty-eighth year of our reign.—(Signed)—NICHOLAS.”

The Emperor Nicholas was anxious to keep up the mask to the last. If the states of Europe were no longer to be deceived, he desired to appear, at least in the estimation of his people, as the religious protector of their fellow-Christians of the Greek church. He would cover his ambition with the dim veil of superstition. He would persuade his priest-ridden subjects that his eyes were not cast upon the fertile lands of the Ottoman, but raised in devotional longings to the plains of Paradise. This manifesto was addressing the cry of a crusade to a people blindly led by their priests, and scarcely better informed than were the European masses in the ages of the crusaders.

With powerful Russian armies in Moldavia and Wallachia, it was evident that the independence of Turkey was at stake. What was to be done? The great powers of Europe hesitated to interfere, and it seemed as if the Porte must submit to any demands the Russian government might impose, or enter single-handed upon a ruinous contest with that gigantic power. France, though fully admitting the rights of the Porte, at first declined the responsibility of advising it how to proceed; and the English government also held aloof. No doubt all parties felt that it was not a light matter to commence a contest which might convulse Europe. The great nations had been so long at peace, that the prospect of war seemed new and strange. There was an ominous and uneasy pause, like to that strange silence in the sultry air which so often precedes a storm. France was the first to declare herself. The manifesto of the emperor had filled the government of that country with indignation, and its ministers declared that they were ready to fulfil every object imposed upon them by treaty, and desirous to co-operate with England in upholding the Turkish empire. The government of this country soon came to the same resolution, and the union between the two western powers was thus virtually established.

To give effect to their views, and to prepare for contingencies, the combined fleets of England and France anchored in Besika Bay, near the straits of the Dardanelles. This, however, was done merely as a precautionary measure, and without any desire for war. England and France had, indeed, both decided upon pursuing a forbearing policy; so much so, that the members of the English government have been much censured for the pacific character of the advice they gave to the Porte.

As the czar occupied the Danubian principalities without resistance, he next addressed himself to the difficult task of justifying his conduct in the eyes of Europe. At his master's direction, Count Nesselrode addressed a circular note to the Russian envoys at foreign courts. It was dated on the 20th of June, and, after reviewing the question at length, described the passage of the Pruth by the Russian troops, and the occupation of the principalities, as a result of the attitude of France and England. "They," said the note we allude to, "at once sent their fleets into the waters of Constantinople. They occupy already the

seas and ports of the Ottoman empire at the entrance of the Dardanelles. By that advanced attitude the two powers have placed us under the weight of a threatening demonstration, which, as we forewarned them, has added new complications to the crisis." It added, that the Russian troops had not entered the principalities in order to make offensive war on the Porte, but because the Porte, in persisting to refuse the moral guarantee sought by the emperor, obliged him to substitute for it a *material* guarantee. It was, however, to be only temporary, and to serve as a pledge until better counsels prevailed in the minds of the sultan's ministers. This sophistical production was ably reviewed and answered by M. Drouin de Lhuys, the French minister for foreign affairs. A similar reply was also made by our ministers, and transmitted to St. Petersburg.

Though England and France had alone interfered to protect Turkey against the ambitious designs of her northern neighbour, yet all the important states of Europe had an interest in the dispute, and none more so than the two great European powers that border upon Russia; namely, Austria and Prussia. Probably, their very proximity to Russia is the reason that, although alarmed at its proceedings, they held aloof from committing themselves in favour of the Ottoman Porte. But the proceedings of the czar had produced an excitement amongst the diplomatists of Europe, and almost every court and every ambassador had projects of his own for the adjustment of existing differences. At length Count Buol, the Austrian minister, called upon the representatives of the great powers at Vienna to consult together, with the view of arriving at the adoption of some proposal which could be submitted to the Porte with the sanction of all their governments. That suggestion ended in the meeting of the conference of Vienna.

In the meantime the Russian army remained in the principalities, the Turks prepared vigorously for the coming storm, and the sultan issued a proclamation to his people, which, after giving an account of the dispute between him and the emperor, expressed these liberal sentiments:—"The Sublime Porte has tranquillized all her subjects, and has enjoined them to remain quiet in their several occupations of agriculture and commerce; and she requires of them to obey all her commands. As has been already mentioned, the claims of Russia relate to the



religious privileges of the Greeks. The Greek sect and their chiefs have personally nothing to do with this affair, but have, on the contrary, expressed their gratitude and thanks to their government, and are sorry that such a question has ever been mooted. They must not, therefore, be looked upon as enemies. Armenians, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are also the true and faithful subjects of our lord and padishah; the Greeks are so also, and they must, therefore, live in peace with each other."

The representatives of the four great powers assembled at Vienna (namely, England, France, Austria, and Prussia) to adjust the differences between Russia and the Porte, framed a document or "note," as it is technically called, which they considered the sultan might agree to give, and the czar to accept, without affecting the independence of the one, or the dignity of the other. After much consideration, the following note was produced, which, on account of its importance, we subjoin:—

"H.M. the sultan, having nothing more at heart than to re-establish between his majesty and the Emperor of Russia the relations of good neighbourship and perfect harmony (*entente*), which have been unhappily disturbed by recent and painful complications, has carefully undertaken the task to find the means to efface the traces of those different points.

"A supreme *iradé*, of date —, having made known to him the imperial decision, the Sublime Porte, &c., congratulates itself at being able to communicate it to H.E. Count de Nesselrode. If at all times the emperors of Russia have shown their active solicitude (1) for the maintenance of the immunities and privileges of the orthodox Greek church in the Ottoman empire, the sultans never refused to confirm them anew by solemn acts, which attested their ancient and constant benevolence towards their Christian subjects.

"H.M. the sultan, Abdul-Medjid, now reigning, animated by the same dispositions, and being desirous to give to H.M. the Emperor of Russia a personal proof of his most sincere friendship, only listened to his unbounded confidence in the eminent qualities of his august friend and ally, and has deigned to take into serious consideration the *representations* (2) of which H.E. Prince Mentschikoff rendered himself the interpreter to the Sublime Porte.

"The undersigned has consequently re-

ceived the order to declare by the present that the government of H.M. the sultan will remain *faithful to the letter and the spirit of the stipulations of the treaties of Kuscuijki-Kainardji* (3) and of *Adrianople*, relative to the *protection of the Christian worship* (4); and that H.M. regards it as a point of honour with him to cause to be preserved forever from all attacks, either at present or in future, the enjoyment of the spiritual privileges which have been accorded by the august ancestors of H.M. to the orthodox church in the East, and which are maintained and confirmed by him; and, moreover, to allow the Greek worship to participate in a spirit of high justice in the advantages conceded (5) to other Christians by convention or special agreement.

"Moreover, as the imperial firman which has recently been given to the Greek patriarchate and clergy, and which contains the confirmation of their spiritual privileges, must be regarded as a new proof of those noble sentiments; and as, moreover, the proclamation of that firman, which gives every security, must dispel for ever every anxiety as regards the worship which is the religion of his majesty the Emperor of Russia, I am happy to be charged with the duty of making the present notification. As regards the guarantee, that in future nothing shall be changed at the place of visitation at Jerusalem, it results from the firman provided with the Hatti Houmayon of the 15th of the moon of Rebbi Ulakir, 1268 (February, 1852), explained and corroborated by the firmans of —; and it is the formal intention of his majesty the sultan to cause his sovereign decisions to be executed without any alteration.

"The Sublime Porte, moreover, officially promises that no modification shall be made in the state of things which has just been regulated without a previous agreement with the governments of Russia and France, and without prejudice whatever to the Christian communities.

"In case the imperial court of Russia should demand it, a suitable locality shall be assigned in the city of Jerusalem, or in the vicinity, for the construction of a church consecrated for the performance of divine service by Russian ecclesiastics, and of a hospital for indigent or sick pilgrims of the same nation.

"The Sublime Porte engages itself even now to subscribe in this respect a solemn act, which would place those pious founda-

tions under the special surveillance of the consulate-general of Russia in Syria and Palestine."

The emperor accepted this note; the diplomatists at Vienna were highly gratified; and it was generally considered that the dispute was at an end, and the war-cloud dispelled. Such was not the case. To the astonishment of Europe the Porte reopened the debate by refusing the note, unless with certain modifications of its own. The passages to which the sultan objected we have printed in italics, and numbered. What he proposed to substitute in the place of them, were the following alterations:—

"(1) For the worship of the orthodox Greek church, the sultans have never ceased to watch over the maintenance of the immunities and privileges of that worship and of that church in the Ottoman empire, and to confirm them anew by solemn acts which attest, &c.

"(2) The communications.

"(3) Of Kouschouk-Kainarji, confirmed by that of Adrianople, relative to the protection by the Porte of the Christian worship.

"(4) And to make known that H.M. the sultan, &c.

"(5) The advantages accorded, and which may be accorded, to other Christian communities, Ottoman subjects."

The note thus altered was sent back to the representatives of the four powers at Vienna, with a despatch containing the reasons of the Porte for the proposed substitutions. The diplomatists were surprised and displeased; and politicians of all nations thought the conduct of the Turks to be rash. It was considered, that as they had placed their cause in European hands, that they ought to have been satisfied with a decision which, it was universally admitted, had been dictated with a sincere desire for their benefit: the more so, as these Turkish corrections appeared somewhat trivial, and to involve no principle. Still, though the representatives of the Western powers considered the alterations unnecessary, and therefore injudicious, yet, as they did not think them in any sense opposed to their own views, they consented to recommend them for the adoption of the emperor. It

\* The following is the Russian analysis of the three principal modifications introduced by the Ottoman Porte into the Vienna note. Though somewhat lengthy, its importance demands its insertion, for it is a necessary link in the chain of history:—

was now the turn of Nicholas; and he *refused* to accept the note with the modifications attached to it. His reasons for so doing are contained in the following despatch from Count Nesselrode to Baron Mayendorff, dated the 18th of September:—

"We have just received, together with your excellency's reports of the 16th (28th) of August, the alterations which the Ottoman Porte has made in the draught of a note drawn up at Vienna.

"Count Buol will only require to recall to mind the expressions of our communication of the 25th of July, to form a clear idea of the impression these alterations have made on his majesty the emperor.

"When I, in his majesty's name, accepted that draught of a note which Austria, after having previously procured it to be approved and accepted by the courts of France and England, described to us as an ultimatum that she intended to lay before the Porte, and on the acceptance of which, the continuance of her friendly offices was to depend, I added, in a despatch which you, baron, were instructed to communicate to the Austrian cabinet, the following remarks and reservations:—'I consider it to be superfluous to remark to your excellency, that, whilst we, in a spirit of conciliation, accept the proposal of accommodation agreed to at Vienna, and of sending a Turkish ambassador, we assume that we shall not have further changes and fresh propositions to examine and to discuss, which may happen to be contrived at Constantinople under the warlike inspiration which seems at present to influence the sultan and the majority of his ministers; and that, should the Ottoman government also reject this last arrangement, we should no longer hold ourselves by the consent which we now give to it.'

"Expressions so precise as these could leave the Austrian government no doubt as to our present decisions.

"I will not at the present moment enter into the alterations of the wording which have been made at Constantinople. I have made them the subject of special remark in another despatch.\* I will, for the moment, confine myself to asking whether the em-

"1. In the Vienna draught it is said, 'If the emperors of Russia have at all times evinced their active solicitude for the maintenance of the immunities and privileges of the orthodox Greek church in the Ottoman empire,' &c. This passage has been thus modified:—'If the emperors of Russia have at all times



peror, after having for himself renounced the power to change even a word in that draught of a note, which was drawn up without his participation, can allow the Ottoman Porte alone to reserve to itself that power, and whether he can suffer Russia to be thus placed in an inferior

evinced their active solicitude for the religion and orthodox Greek church.' The words, 'in the Ottoman empire,' as well as those, 'the maintenance of the immunities and privileges,' have been struck out, in order to be transposed to a subsequent passage, and applied to the sultans alone. This omission deprives the mutilated passage of all its meaning and sense. For no one assuredly disputes the active solicitude of the sovereigns of Russia for the religion which they profess themselves, and which is that of their subjects. What it was designed to recognise is, that there has ever existed on the part of Russia active solicitude for her co-religionists in Turkey, as also for the maintenance of their religious immunities, and that the Ottoman government is disposed to take account of that solicitude, and also to leave those immunities untouched. The present expression is the more unacceptable, since, by the terms which follow it, more than solicitude for the orthodox religion is attributed to the sultans. It is affirmed that they have never ceased to watch over the maintenance of its immunities and privileges, and to confirm them by solemn acts. However, it is precisely the reverse of what is thus stated, which, having more than once occurred in times past, and specifically in the affair of the Holy Places, has compelled us to apply a remedy to it, by demanding a more express guarantee for the future. If we lend ourselves to the admission that the Ottoman government has never ceased to watch over the maintenance of the privileges of the Greek church, what becomes of the complaints which we have brought forward against it? By doing so, we admit that we had no legitimate grounds of complaint; that Prince Mentschikoff's mission was without motive; that, in a word, even the note which it has addressed to us was wholly superfluous.

"2. The suppressions and additions of words introduced into this passage, with marked affectation, are evidently intended to invalidate the treaty of Kainardji, while having the appearance of confirming it. It was said in the note originally drawn up at Vienna, that, 'faithful to the letter and to the spirit of the stipulations of the treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople, relative to the protection of the Christian religion, the sultan considers himself bound in honour . . . to preserve from all prejudice . . . the immunities and privileges granted to the orthodox church.' These terms, which made the maintenance of the immunities to be derived from the very spirit of the treaty,—that is to say, from the general principle laid down in the seventh article—were in conformity with the doctrine which we have maintained and still maintain. For, according to us, the promise to protect a religion and its churches implies of necessity the maintenance of the immunities enjoyed by them. They are two inseparable things. These terms, originally agreed upon at Vienna, were subsequently first modified at Paris and at London; and, if we did not object to this at the time, as we should have been entitled to do, it is not that we misunderstood the purport of that

position *vis-à-vis* Turkey? We hold this to be inconsistent with the dignity of the emperor. Let us recall the whole series of events, as they took place. In the place of the Mentschikoff note, the acceptance of which, without alteration, we had stipulated as the condition of our resuming our rela-

alteration. We clearly perceived the distinction made between two points which, in our estimation, are indissolubly connected with each other; but this distinction was, however, marked with sufficient delicacy to admit of our accepting, from a spirit of conciliation, and from a desire of speedily arriving at a definitive solution, the terms of the note as they were presented to us, which we thenceforth looked upon as unalterable. These motives of deference no longer apply to the fresh modification of the same passage which has been made at Constantinople. The line of demarcation between the two objects is there too plainly drawn to admit of our accepting it without falsifying all that we have said and written. The mention of the treaty of Kainardji is superfluous, and its confirmation without object, from the time that its general principle is no longer applied to the maintenance of the religious immunities of the religion. It is for this object that the words 'the letter and the spirit' have been suppressed. The fact that the protection of the Christian religion is exercised 'by the Sublime Porte' is needlessly insisted on, as if we pretended ourselves to exercise that protection in the sultan's dominions; and, as it is at the same time omitted to notice that, according to the terms of the treaty, the protection is a promise made and an engagement undertaken by the sultan, there is an appearance of throwing a doubt upon the right which we possess of watching over the strict fulfilment of that promise.

"3. The alteration proposed in this passage of the Austrian note is altogether inadmissible. The Ottoman government would merely engage to allow the orthodox church to share in the advantages which it might grant to other Christian communities, subjects of the Porte. But if those communities, whether catholics or others, were not composed of native rayahs, but of foreign monks or laymen (and such is the case with nearly the whole of the convents, hospitals, seminaries, and bishoprics of the Latin rite in Turkey), and if, let us say, it should be the good pleasure of the Porte to grant to those establishments fresh religious advantages and privileges, the orthodox communities, in their character of Ottoman subjects, would not, under the terms which it is desired to introduce into this note, have the right of claiming the same favours, nor would Russia have the right of interceding for them. The malevolent intention of the ministers of the Porte will become still more evident, if we cite an instance—a possible contingency. Let us suppose the very probable case of the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, recently extolled, obtaining from the Porte prerogatives not enjoyed by the Greek patriarch. Any claim on the part of the latter would be rejected, in consideration of his character of 'subject of the Porte.' The same objection would be made by the Ottoman ministry with reference to the catholic establishments of Palestine, in case any fresh advantage or right not specified in the last firmans should hereafter be granted to them to the prejudice of the native communities."

tions with the Porte, a different note was proposed to us. On this ground alone we might have refused to take it into consideration. And even after entering upon it we might have found occasion to raise more than one objection, to propose more than one alteration in the expressions. You know, baron, that from the moment we consented to give up our ultimatum, no note of any form whatever was what we desired—that we should have preferred another plan, another form of agreement. We did not insist on this plan; we have laid it entirely on one side. Why? Because, as soon as we should have made counter-propositions, we should have exposed ourselves to the reproach of protracting matters, of intentionally prolonging the crisis which is disquieting Europe. Instead of this, as we wished to put an end to the crisis as soon as possible, we sacrificed our objections both as regards the contents and the form. On the receipt of the first draught of a note, without waiting to learn if it had been approved in London or in Paris, we notified our accession to it by telegraph. Subsequently the draught was forwarded to us in its final form; and although it had been altered in a direction which we could not misunderstand, we did not retract our consent, nor raise the smallest difficulty. Could greater readiness or a more conciliatory spirit be shown? When we thus acted, we did so, as a matter of course, on the condition that a draught which the emperor accepted without discussion should be accepted by the Porte in a similar manner. We did so under the conviction that Austria looked on it as an ultimatum, in which nothing was to be changed—as the last effort of her friendly mediation, which, should it fail in consequence of the pertinacity of the Porte, would thereby of itself come to an end. We regret that it was not so. But the Vienna cabinet will admit, that if we had not to do with an ultimatum, but with a new draught of a note, in which either of the parties concerned was at liberty to make changes, we should thereby recover the right—of which we had of our own accord deprived ourselves—of proposing variations on our part, of taking the proposal of arrangement into consideration, and not only changing the expressions, but also the form.

“Could such a result be intended by Austria? Could it be agreeable to the powers, who, by altering and accepting her

draught, have made it their common work? It is their affair to consider the delays which will result from this, or to inquire if it is for the interest of Europe to cut them short. We see only one single means of putting an end to them. It is for Austria and the powers to declare to the Porte, frankly and firmly, that they, after having in vain opened up to it the only road that could lead to an immediate restoration of its relations with us, henceforth leave the task to itself alone. We believe, that as soon as the powers unanimously hold this language to the Porte, the Turks will yield to the advice of Europe, and, instead of reckoning on her assistance in a struggle with Russia, will accept the note in its present form, and cease to compromise their position so seriously for the childish satisfaction of having altered a few expressions in a document which we had accepted without discussion. For of these two positions only one is possible,—either the alterations which the Porte requires, are important, in which case it is very simple that we refuse to accede to them; or they are unimportant, and then the question arises, why should the Porte unnecessarily make its acceptance dependent on them?

“To sum up succinctly what we have said, the ultimatum drawn up at Vienna is not ours. It is the work of Austria and the powers, who, after having first of all agreed to it, then discussed it, and altered its original text, have recognised it as such as the Porte could accept without its interests or its honour being compromised. We, on our part, have done everything that depended upon us to shorten unnecessary delays, inasmuch, as when the arrangement was laid before us, we renounced all counter-propositions. No one will refuse to bear this testimony to the *loyauté* of the emperor. After our having long exhausted the measure of concessions without the Porte's having as yet made a single one, his majesty can go no further without compromising his own standing, and without exposing himself to a resumption of his relations with Turkey under unfavourable auspices, which would deprive them for the future of all stability, and must inevitably produce a fresh and signal breach. Even now, further concessions with regard to the expressions of the note would be of no use; for we see, by your despatch, that the Ottoman government is only waiting for our consent to the alterations made in the Vienna note,



to make its signature, as well as its sending off an ambassador to convey the latter hither, dependent on fresh conditions, and that it has already made inadmissible proposals with respect to the evacuation of the principalities. As regards the latter point, we can only refer to the assurances and declarations contained in our despatch of the 10th of August; and repeat, that the arrival of the Turkish ambassador, bearing the Austrian note without alterations, will suffice at St. Petersburg for the orders to be issued to our troops to retire over the frontier."

Count Nesselrode's despatch in justification of the conduct of the czar, proved fatal to his cause. From it, it appeared that the apprehensions of the Turks were well founded; and that the meaning they had detected in the Vienna note could not only have been placed upon it, but had actually been relied upon by the quick-sighted emperor in giving his consent to it. The eyes of the representatives of the four powers were opened, and they then approved of the conduct of the Porte in proposing these seemingly trivial substitutions in the note that had been submitted to the czar. "It cannot be denied," said an able writer in the *Times*, "that in this matter of the Vienna note there had been a singular amount of diplomatic blundering. Four trained diplomatists had drawn up a document to secure a certain object, which object such document left substantially unsecured; and, what is more, the oversight remained undetected by their respective governments, and even unappreciated after its detection by Turkey, until Russia herself came forward with a demonstration of the fact. It is evidently not credible that either the Vienna negotiators or the Western cabinets should have assented to the note, if they had believed it to contain what it did contain; for such a course would have been a gratuitous sacrifice of the very principles for which they were taking the trouble to contend. If they had designed to let the czar have his way, they might have done so without any conference at all, and their labour would have been saved. All that can be said is, that when the mistake became really apparent, they did their best to remedy it; and, as they were not in the position of accepted arbitrators, whose award was to be final, they were left at perfect liberty to support the Turkish government in a refusal which had been thus unexpectedly justified. This course the govern-

ments of France and England promptly adopted; and while still earnestly advocating a pacific settlement, they resolutely backed the Porte in its rejection of the Vienna note."

The Russian occupation of the Danubian principalities created an intense excitement amongst the Turks, and excited a dangerous feeling of religious enthusiasm. They were divided into two sections—the old Mussulman party, and the new reform one. Redschid Pasha was the acknowledged leader of the latter, which embraced the less fanatical and less influential portion of the Mussulmans, and had any negative advantage that might accrue from the goodwill of the Greeks and Armenians. The Mussulman, or war-party, was led by Mehmed Ali Pasha, and comprised all the ulemahs and strict followers of Mohammed. Indeed, it possessed the sympathy of the most energetic and enthusiastic of the people. "In the first place," reasoned its followers, "we can overcome the Russians single-handed; and in the second, should adverse fortune befall, and Constantinople be endangered, fear of Russia will compel England and France to support us actively. In the one event, our strength will effect our protection; and in the other, our weakness will secure us powerful allies."

Animated by this feeling, the Turkish people called loudly for war; inflammatory placards were posted on the walls of Constantinople; the lives of the Christians were considered to be in danger; the storm of revolution was gathering; and even the throne of the pacific sultan was in peril. The passions of the people were aroused, and they heroically spurned all thoughts of danger arising from a contest with an enemy more powerful than themselves. They would vindicate their nationality; assert their independence; and expel the invading Russians from their borders. The cry was war—a *holy* war: a war in the cause of freedom and their prophet. Redschid Pasha even expressed his apprehensions to the English and French ambassadors, that their countrymen might be exposed to serious dangers, arising from the religious fanaticism of the people—dangers from which the government was not powerful enough to protect them. Vessels were detached from the combined fleets and sent to the Turkish capital, to provide for the safety of the European Christians. As the reasons for this cir-

cumstance were at the time generally unknown to English politicians, it excited some suspicions in this country of the sincerity of the intentions of our government towards Turkey. For a time many clear-headed men were inclined to adopt Mr. Urquhart's wild notion, that our ministers were acting in collusion with Russia, instead of being honestly hostile to her insidious policy, and that a secret understanding existed between the governments of England and Russia for the partition of Turkey, by which Russia was to have Constantinople, and England Egypt and Candia. The onward course of events soon vindicated the integrity of our ministers, and demonstrated their sincerity in the cause of Turkey.

A report was spread that the ulemahs at Constantinople had, with stern abruptness, offered the sultan his choice of war or abdication, and given him only two days, until the feast of Kurban Bairam (the 14th of September), for his decision. This may be an exaggeration; but on the 26th of September, 1853, the grand council of the Turks solemnly pronounced itself for open war, and left the declaration of the fact to the discretion of the sultan. Abdul-Medjid would not longer withstand the desires of his people, and he adopted the decision of the council. On the 4th of October (the first day of the year in Turkey), his manifesto, containing a declaration of war against Russia, was read in all the mosques to the approving people. This document was penned in such a spirit of calm dignity, and contains so clear and impartial a review of the whole question, that, unlike many state papers, it is invested with considerable interest. It will amply repay an attentive perusal. Its reasons for the adoption of war are thus expressed:—

"In the present state of circumstances, it would be superfluous to take up from its very commencement the explanation of the difference which has arisen between the Sublime Porte and Russia, to enter anew into the detail of the divers phases which this difference has gone through, or to reproduce the opinions and judgments of the government of his majesty the sultan, which have been made public by the official documents promulgated from time to time. In spite of the desire not to restate the urgent reasons which determined the modifications introduced by the Sublime Porte into the draught of the note prepared at Vienna (motives exposed previously in a note explanatory of the modifications), yet new solicitations having been

made for the adoption, pure and simple of the said note, in consequence of the non-adhesion of Russia to these said modifications, the Ottoman government, finding itself at present compelled and forced to undertake war, thinks it a duty to give an exposition of the imperious reasons for that important determination, as well as for those which have obliged it not to regulate this time its conduct according to the counsels of the great powers, its allies, *although it has never ceased to appreciate the benevolent nature of their suggestions.* The principal points to which the government of his majesty the sultan desires to give prominence are these:— That from the very beginning his conduct has furnished no motive of quarrel, and that, animated with the desire of preserving peace, he has acted with a remarkable spirit of moderation and conciliation from the commencement of the difference unto the present time. It is easy to prove these facts to all who do not wander from the path of justice and equity. Even supposing that Russia had a subject of complaint in relation to the Holy Places, she ought to have circumscribed her actions and solicitations within the limits of this question alone, and ought not to have raised pretensions which the object of her complaints could not sustain. She ought not, moreover, to have taken measures of intimidation; such as sending her troops to the frontiers, and making naval preparations at Sebastopol, on the subject of a question which might have been settled amicably between the two powers. But it is evident that what has taken place is totally contrary to an intention of amicable settlement. The question of the Holy Places had been settled to the satisfaction of all parties; and the government of his majesty the sultan had testified favourable dispositions on the subject of the guarantees demanded. In short, Russia had no longer any ground for raising any protest. Is it not seeking a pretext for quarrel, then, to insist, as Russia has done, upon the question of the privileges of the Greek church granted by the Ottoman government, privileges which the government believes its honour, its dignity, and its sovereign power are concerned in maintaining, and on the subject of which it can neither admit the interference nor the surveillance of any government? Is it not Russia which has occupied with considerable forces the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, declaring at the same time that these provinces should serve as a guarantee, until she had obtained what she desired? Has not this act been considered justly by the Sublime Porte as a violation of treaties, and consequently as a *casus belli*? Have the other powers themselves been able to come to any other decision? Who, then, will doubt that Russia has been the aggressor? Could the Sublime Porte, which has always observed all her treaties with a fidelity known to



all, never infringing them any way, do more than determine Russia to a proceeding so violent as that of herself infringing all these treaties? Again, has there arisen, contrary to the promise explicitly given in the treaty of Kainardji, such facts in the Ottoman empire as the demolition of Christian churches, or obstacles opposed to the exercise of the Christian religion? The Ottoman cabinet, without desiring to enter into too long details on these points, doubts not that the high powers its allies, will judge with perfect truth and justice on the statement just exhibited. As to the non-adoption of the *Vienna note* in its pure and simple form by the Sublime Porte, it is to be remarked that this project, although not in every point conformed to the note of Prince Mentschikoff, and while containing, it is true, in its composition, some of the paragraphs of the draught note of the Sublime Porte, *is not as a whole, whether in letter or spirit, essentially different from that of Prince Mentschikoff*. The assurances recently given by the representatives of the great powers respecting the apprehended danger from hurtful interpretations of the draught note in question, are a new proof of the kind intentions of their respective governments towards the Sublime Porte. They have consequently produced a lively satisfaction on the part of the government of his majesty the sultan. It must be remarked, however, that while we have still before our eyes a strife of religious privileges raised by Russia, which seeks to base its claims on a paragraph so clear and so precise in the treaty of Kainardji; which wishes to insert in a diplomatic document the paragraph concerning the active solicitude of the Emperor of Russia for the maintenance in the states of the Sublime Porte of religious immunities and privileges which were granted to the Greek rite by the Ottoman emperors before Russia so much as existed as an empire, to leave in a dark and doubtful state the absence of all relation between these privileges and the treaty of Kutschuk Kainardji to employ in favour of a great community of subjects of the Sublime Porte professing the Greek religion, expressions which might make allusion to treaties concluded with France and Austria relative to the French and Latin religions—this would be to incur the risk of placing in the hands of Russia vague and obscure paragraphs, some of which are contrary to the reality of facts, and would offer to Russia a solid pretext for her pretensions to a religious surveillance and protectorate—pretensions which that power would attempt to produce, affirming that they are not derogatory to the sovereignty and independence of the Sublime Porte. The very language of the *employés* and agents of Russia, who have declared that the intention of government was no other than to fulfil the office of an advocate with the Sublime Porte whenever acts contrary

to existing privileges might be done, is a patent proof of the justice of opinion of the Ottoman government. If the government of his majesty the sultan have judged it necessary to require that assurance should be given, even if the modifications which it introduced into the Vienna note were adopted, how in conscience could it be tranquil if the note were to be retained in its integrity and without modification? The Sublime Porte in accepting that which it has declared to all the world it could not admit without being compelled thereto, would compromise its dignity in view of the other powers; would sacrifice its honour in the eyes of its own subjects; and would commit a mental and moral suicide. Although the refusal of Russia to accord the modifications required by the Sublime Porte has been based on a question of honour, it cannot be denied that the ground of that refusal was simply and solely *its desire not to allow explicit terms to replace vague expressions*, which might at some future time furnish it with a pretext for intermeddling. Such conduct therefore compels the Sublime Porte to persist, on its part, in withholding its adhesion. The reasons which have determined the Ottoman government to make its modifications having been appreciated by the representatives of the four powers, it is proved that the Sublime Porte was right in not purely and simply adopting the Vienna note. It is not with the view of criticising a project which obtained the assent of the great powers, that we enter upon a discussion of the inconveniences which the Vienna note presents. Their efforts have always tended to the preservation of peace, while defending the rights and independence of the imperial government. The endeavours made to attain these objects having been as laudable as can be conceived, the Sublime Porte cannot sufficiently acknowledge them. But, as evidently each government must possess, in consequence of its peculiar knowledge and local experience, more facilities than any other government for judging of the points which concerns its own rights, the examination which the Ottoman government makes, is prompted entirely by its desire to justify the obligatory situation in which, to its great regret, it finds itself placed, desiring, as it has done, to continue following the benevolent counsels offered to it by its allies ever since the commencement of the differences, and which, until now, it has followed. If it is alleged that the haste with which the Vienna note was drawn up, results from the backwardness of the Sublime Porte to propose an arrangement, the government of his majesty the sultan must justify itself by stating the following facts:—Before the entrance of the Russian troops into the two principalities, some of the representatives of the powers, actuated by the sincere intention of preventing the occupation of those provinces, urged upon

the Sublime Porte the necessity of framing a draught note, occupying a middle place between the draught note of the Sublime Porte, and that of Prince Mentschikoff. More lately the representatives of the powers confidently communicated different schemes of arrangement to the Sublime Porte. None of these latter responded to the views of the imperial government; and the Ottoman cabinet was on the point of entering into negotiations with the representatives of the powers, on the basis of a project drawn up by itself in conformity with these suggestions. It was at this moment that news of the passage of the Pruth by the Russians, arrived; a fact which changed the face of the whole question. The draught note proposed by the Sublime Porte was then set aside, and the cabinets were requested to express their views of this violation of treaties, after the protest of the Sublime Porte. On the one hand, the Ottoman cabinet had to wait for their replies, and, on the other, it drew up, at the suggestion of the representatives of the powers, a project of arrangements, which was sent to Vienna. As the sole answer to all these active steps, the draught of our note at Vienna made its appearance. However that may be, the Ottoman government, fearing rightly everything which might imply a right of interference in favour of Russia in religious matters, could do no more than give assurances calculated to dissipate the doubts which had become the subject of discussion; and it will not, after so many preparations and sacrifices, accept propositions which could not be received at the time of the stay of Prince Mentschikoff at Constantinople. Since the cabinet of St. Petersburg has not been content with the assurances and pledges that have been offered; since the benevolent efforts of the high powers have remained fruitless; since, in fine, the Sublime Porte cannot tolerate or suffer any longer the actual state of things, or the prolongation of the occupation of the Moldo-Wallachian principalities, they being integral portions of its empire—the Ottoman cabinet, with the firm and praiseworthy intention of defending the sacred rights of sovereignty and the independence of its government, will employ

\* The career of Omar Pasha is a romantic one. He is a native of Austria, and was born in 1801, at the village of Vlaski. His family name is Lattas, and his father was lieutenant-administrator of the circle. Having received a military education, he entered the army of his native country; but in consequence of a misunderstanding with his superiors in rank, he left for Turkey, and embraced Islamism. Khosrew Pasha, then seraskier, took him under his protection, and attached him to his personal staff. He even gave him his ward in marriage—a young lady who was one of the richest heiresses of Constantinople. Lattas, who had taken the name of Omar, rose rapidly in the Turkish army, and acquired considerable distinction. In 1848 he was

just reprisals against the violation of the treaties which it considers a *casus belli*. It notifies, then, officially, that the government of his majesty the sultan finds itself obliged to declare war, that it has given most precise instructions to his excellency Omar Pasha to demand from Prince Gortschakoff the evacuation of the principalities, and to commence hostilities if, after a delay of fifteen days from the arrival of his despatch at the Russian head-quarters, an answer in the negative should be returned. It is distinctly understood that should the reply of Prince Gortschakoff be negative, the Russians are to quit the Ottoman states, and that the commercial relations of the respective subjects of the two governments shall be broken off. At the same time, the Sublime Porte will not consider it just to lay an embargo upon Russian merchant vessels, as has been the practice. Consequently, they will be warned to resort either to the Black Sea or the Mediterranean Sea, as they shall think fit, within a term that shall hereafter be fixed. Moreover, the Ottoman government being unwilling to place hindrances in the way of commercial intercourse between the subjects of friendly powers, will, during the war, leave the Straits open to their mercantile marine."

At the same time, Omar Pasha,\* the commander of the Turkish army of the Danube, communicated the resolve of his master, the sultan, to Prince Gortschakoff, the general of the Russian forces in the principalities, by the following note:—

"Monsieur le General,—It is by the order of my government that I have the honour to address this letter to your excellency. Whilst the Sublime Porte has exhausted all means of conciliation to maintain at once peace and its own independence, the court of Russia has not ceased to raise difficulties in the way of any such settlement, and has ended with the violation of treaties—invading the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, integral parts of the Ottoman empire. True to its pacific system, the Porte, instead of exercising its right to make reprisals, confined itself even then to protesting, and did not deviate from the way

appointed to the command of the forces sent to the Danubian provinces, where he made the authority of the sultan respected, while at the same time he regarded the susceptibilities and privileges of the inhabitants, placed as they were under the double protection of Turkey and Russia. In 1851 he greatly distinguished himself in Bosnia, the principal chiefs of which had refused to recognise the *tanzimat*, or new organisation of the empire. After the insurrection of Hungary, he undertook the defence of the refugees whose extradition had been demanded by Austria and Russia. He interfered zealously with the sultan on behalf of these unfortunate men, many of whom Abdul-Medjid received into his service. Omar is much esteemed for his resolution and bravery.



that might lead to an arrangement. Russia, on the contrary, far from evincing corresponding sentiments, has ended by rejecting the proposals recommended by the august mediating courts—proposals which were alike necessary to the honour and to the security of the Porte. There only remains for the latter the indispensable necessity of war. But as the invasion of the principalities, and the violation of treaties which have attended it, are the veritable causes of war, the Sublime Porte, as a last expression of its pacific sentiments, proposes to your excellency, by my intervention, the evacuation of the two provinces, and grants for your decision a term of fifteen days, to date from the receipt of this letter. If within this interval a negative answer shall reach me from your excellency, the commencement of hostilities will be the natural consequence. While I have the honour to make this intimation to your excellency, I embrace the opportunity to offer the assurances of my high esteem."

To this summons, Princee Gortschakoff returned the following brief and not very explicit reply:—"My master is not at war with Turkey; but I have orders not to leave the principalities until the Porte shall have given to the emperor the moral satisfaction he demands. When this point has been obtained, I will evacuate the principalities immediately, whatever the time or the season. If I am attacked by the Turkish army, I will confine myself to the defensive." Omar Pasha prepared to oppose the Russian forces should they attempt to cross the Danube, and the Russian soldiers were busily employed in throwing up entrenchments for their protection at every place where the Turks could possibly cross the river. After the declaration of war, the representatives of the various powers paid a visit to the sultan. He received them with great courtesy, and requested them to assure their respective sovereigns, that his wish was to settle his differences with the Emperor of Russia amicably; but, he added, that his ancestors had captured Constantinople with sword in hand, and that if fate ordained that it should fall to another master, the Turks would quit the country sword in hand, or die as soldiers for their national faith.

Nicholas, extremely fond of making declarations and publishing manifestos, would not omit replying to the Turkish announcement of an appeal to arms. Accordingly, he issued the following statement in the *Gazette of St. Petersburg*. Its demure hypocrisy is absolutely startling.

"By the grace of God, we, Nicholas I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., make known as follows:—By our manifesto of the 14th (26th) of June of the present year, we made known to our faithful and dearly-beloved subjects the motives which had placed us under the obligation of demanding from the Ottoman Porte inviolable guarantees in favour of the sacred right of the orthodox church. We also announced to them that all our efforts to recall the Porte, by means of amicable persuasion, to sentiments of equity and to the faithful observance of treaties, had remained unfruitful, and that we had consequently deemed it indispensable to cause our troops to advance into the Danubian principalities; but in taking this step we still entertained the hope that the Porte would acknowledge its wrong doings and would decide on acceding to our just demands. Our expectation has been deceived. Even the chief powers of Europe have sought in vain by their exhortations to shake the blind obstinacy of the Ottoman government. It is by a declaration of war, by a proclamation filled with lying accusations against Russia, that it has responded to the pacific efforts of Europe, as well as to our spirit of long-suffering. At last, enrolling in the ranks of its army revolutionary exiles from all countries, the Porte has just commenced hostilities on the Danube. Russia is challenged to the combat; and she has no other course left her, than, putting her trust in God, to have recourse to force of arms, and so compel the Ottoman government to respect treaties, and to obtain reparation for the insults with which it has responded to our most moderate demands, and to our most legitimate solicitude for the defence of the orthodox faith in the East, professed also by the people of Russia. We are firmly convinced that our faithful subjects will join their prayers to those which we address to the Almighty, beseeching him to bless with His hand our arms in this just and holy cause, which has always found ardent defenders in our ancestors. In te, Domine, speravi; non confundar in æternum.—Done at Tzarskoe Selo, the 20th day of October (1st of Nov.), in the year of grace, 1853, and the twenty-eighth of our reign.

NICHOLAS."

Simultaneously with the appearance of this statement of the Emperor Nicholas to his people, Count Nesselrode dispatched the following note to the diplomatic agents of Russia in foreign countries, to be communicated to their respective governments:—

"St. Petersburg, Oct. 19 (Oct. 31, N.S.)—Sir,—The efforts which we have not ceased to make for the last eight months for the arrangement of our differences with the Ottoman Porte have, unfortunately, been without effect to the present day. Nay, more, the situation

seems to become more aggravated each day. Whilst the emperor offered, during his interview with his intimate friend and ally, the Emperor Francis Joseph, fresh facilities to the Austrian cabinet to explain the misunderstanding which attaches to the motives stated by us for rejecting the modifications which the Porte desired to introduce into the note drawn up at Vienna, the Porte yielding, notwithstanding the counsels of the European representatives at Constantinople, to the warlike ideas and the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, has, as you will have learned, formally declared war against us. That rash step has, however, in nowise changed the pacific disposition of the emperor. We still do not abandon, on that account, the resolutions announced from the beginning in our circular of the 20th of June. At that period his imperial majesty declared that in occupying provisionally the principalities as a material security for the satisfaction he demands, he was unwilling to carry any further the measures of coercion, but rather to avoid an offensive war, so long as his dignity and his interests permitted him to do so. At the present moment, and notwithstanding the fresh provocation offered to him, the intentions of my august master remain the same. In possession of the material pledge which the occupation of the principalities gives us, though still ready, in fulfilment of our promise, to evacuate them the moment that we obtain satisfaction, we shall content ourselves with maintaining our position there, remaining on the defensive so long as we are not forced to abandon limits within which we desire to confine our action. We will wait the attack of the Turks without taking the initiative of hostilities. It will then entirely depend on other powers not to widen the limits of the war, if the Turks persist in waging it against us, and not to give to it any other character than that which we mean to leave to it. That situation of expectancy does not place any obstacle to the carrying on of negotiations. After the declaration of war, it is not to Russia that it belongs to seek for new expedients, nor to take the initiative in overtures of conciliation. But if, when better enlightened as to its interests, the Porte shall manifest a disposition to propose or to receive similar overtures, it is not the emperor who will place any obstacles to their being taken into consideration. Such, Monsieur, is all that, for the moment, it is permitted me to inform you of, in the uncertainty as to whether the Ottoman Porte will give effect to the warlike project it has just adopted. Inform the cabinet to which you are accredited of our eventual intentions. They furnish an additional proof of the desire of our august master to limit as much as possible the circle of hostilities, if they should unhappily take place, and to spare the consequences of them to the rest of Europe. Receive, &c.—NESSELRODE."

In conformity with the treaty of 1841, by which the Dardanelles were closed to foreign vessels, except on requisition of the sultan in time of war, the combined fleets of England and France had remained outside the straits. Now that war was declared, the sultan, on the 8th of October, made a formal request for the presence of the allied fleets. The ambassadors of the two western powers immediately gave orders to that effect. A further demand was also made by the sultan; namely, that the allied fleets should cruise in the Black Sea—a circumstance which would serve as a protection to the towns on the Turkish coast. As England and France were both nominally at peace with Russia, and as such an act would probably have been construed by the czar into a declaration of war, the sultan's desire was unfortunately not complied with.

Notwithstanding that such hostile steps had been taken, the great powers of Europe still hoped that the dispute might be peaceably settled. At the very time when the Turkish council pronounced itself for war (in the last week of September, 1853), the Emperor of Russia paid a visit to the Emperor of Austria at Olmutz. This visit led to a diplomatic conference, at which the czar breathed nothing but peace and good wishes to all the world. He announced personally that Russia desired to meet "every legitimate wish" of the mediating powers, and a new project of settlement, called the *Olmutz note*, originated in the confidence thus excited. Nicholas was doubtless embarrassed by the opposition which his ambitious plots had excited, and would perhaps have been glad to tranquillise the rising storm. An alliance between England and France to frustrate his aims, was an event he had not deemed possible; but since it had occurred, he would probably have been glad to recede from his aggressive and hostile attitude if he could have done so with dignity, and defer his scheme of territorial extension to a more favourable opportunity. This satisfaction he was unable to attain: his assurances at Olmutz did not seem sufficiently clear to the British government to neutralise the effect of the Nesselrode despatch, and the whole scheme was soon deranged by the Turkish declaration of hostilities.

Having declared war, the Turks speedily commenced it with a surprising vigour and spirit, as we shall soon relate. But first we will pursue to a close the dreary diplomacy



which, "like a wounded snake, still dragged its slow length along." The western powers seemed resolved to exhaust every means of settling the quarrel without disturbing the peace of Europe. Such efforts can scarcely be deemed otherwise than laudable; but without doubt they raised the spirits of the Emperor Nicholas, and encouraged him to persevere in his aggressions against the Ottoman territory. He appears to have thought Turkey, alone, far too weak to oppose him with a shadow of success; and that the European powers were not sufficiently interested to assist it. But in the latter point he was mistaken; for, though the western powers were of opinion that negotiation might yet produce amicable results, still they had honourably resolved to support the Ottoman government in the position it had taken. Russia and Turkey were actually at war: the question, then, was, whether peace could be restored without the hostile interference of the rest of Europe? It was perfectly clear that Russia must not be permitted quietly to devour its feeble neighbour; and the diplomatists tried once again to lure or frighten the northern iron-clad giant away from his prey.

The representatives of the four powers devised a new *note*, of a very moderate character. It was accepted by the Porte, and sent to the emperor at St. Petersburg, with a recommendation, in the name of the allies, that it should be accepted as a fair basis of peace. "If," wrote Lord Stratford, "the court of St. Petersburg be sincere in its professions, the negotiation ought to terminate, at an early period, in peace." These hopes were speedily dissipated; for the note was *rejected* by Nicholas. He declared its propositions to be quite unsatisfactory; announced that he would allow of no mediation between himself and Turkey; and added, that if the sultan desired to treat, he might send an ambassador to St. Petersburg. This was arrogant and offensive enough; but it would seem that Nicholas had at length resolved on war. He therefore sent a confidential servant, Count Orloff, to Vienna, to express the conditions on which alone he was content to treat with Turkey. These conditions amounted to four, and were even an advance upon the original demands made by Prince Mentschikoff at Constantinople. They required that a Turkish plenipotentiary should proceed to the head-quarters of the army, or to St. Petersburg, to open direct negotiations

with Russia, but with liberty to refer to the ministers of the four powers; that the former treaties between Russia and the Porte should be renewed; that Turkey should enter into an engagement not to give an asylum to political refugees; and that the Porte should recognise, by a declaration, the Russian protectorate of the Greek Christians.

The arrogance of the Emperor of Russia did not end with this haughty announcement of his views respecting Turkey. He addressed propositions of a most humiliating character to his old friends and allies—the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. He required of them an absolute and unconditional armed neutrality in the eastern quarrel; and, as that was in reality a furtherance of his designs, and would probably expose them to the hostility of the western powers, he assured those ancient and powerful monarchies of his *protection*. "No wonder," says a leading journal, "that on hearing such a communication, the ministers of Austria and Prussia felt an astonishment and irritation they did not disguise, and that the first impulse of every honest man, cognizant of these transactions, was to set his name to a declaration that they were peremptorily rejected. It was an attempt, on the part of Russia, not only to assert her supremacy over the whole Christian population of the East, and to drag the Turkish government as a suppliant to St. Petersburg; but also, and at the same time, to place the leading powers of Germany in positive and avowed dependence on the policy of the czar. If such a scheme could have succeeded, not only would it have rendered war in the East more certain, and probably more protracted, but it must infallibly have extended that war to the rest of Europe. It would instantly have divided the German and the western powers into two camps; and, while they were contending for a cause not their own, Russia would have found herself at liberty to act as she pleased on the Danube and the Euxine."

As might be anticipated, the representatives of the four powers declared the new terms proposed by the czar to be inadmissible, and Count Orloff returned to St. Petersburg. The Austrian minister, however, earnestly desired that proposals might be transmitted from Russia, modified in accordance with the views of the four powers. This desire was assented to; but the new propositions of the czar were almost as arro-

gant as the last, and the conference rejected them without even submitting them to the consideration of the Porte.

An appeal to arms, on the part of England and France, on behalf of Turkey became inevitable, and the diplomatic relations between France, England, and Russia were suspended. M. de Kisseleff quitted Paris

on the 6th of February, 1854, and Baron Brunow\* left England on the 9th. The exertions of the Vienna conference ceased; but the records of its labours attest, that in the judgment of Europe, the terms of Russia were not, while those of the Sublime Porte were admissible for the settlement of peace.

#### CHAPTER IV.

PROBABLE REGENERATION OF TURKEY; THE ARMIES ON THE DANUBE; THE PASSAGE OF THE RIVER, AND BATTLE OF OLTENITZA; DESTRUCTION OF A TURKISH SQUADRON AT SINOPE; LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR OF FRANCE TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

GREAT was the enthusiasm which prevailed at Constantinople when the sultan declared war against the northern power which had insulted his people and endeavoured to reduce him to the mere shadow of a sovereign. Preparations for the impending struggle were carried on with unceasing activity. Gifts of jewels, money, horses, and other valuable things were placed by patriotic Mussulmans at the disposal of their sovereign. The narrow streets and rickety wooden houses of Constantinople trembled as lines of heavy ordnance were dragged over its rugged pavement. Numbers of citizens, including troops of apprentices, mingled with grey-bearded shopkeepers, formed themselves into volunteer corps, while rude Tureoman shepherds, from the mountains of Anatolia, armed to the teeth, were seen gazing with stupid wonder on the strange city life into which they were introduced for the first time. Added to these, bodies of irregular horsemen, Kurdish, Turcoman, and Arab freebooters, with costumes and arms resembling those of the middle ages, were, from time to time, observed following some bearded warrior, the barbaric grandeur of whose arms and dress marked him as the chief of a clan. By an ancient custom the sultan is required to march in

person at the head of his troops to battle against the infidel. It seems that this has come to be regarded as "a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance;" for it has degenerated into a state fiction. Abdul-Medjid, however, in sham compliance with it, quitted his palace, and proceeded to the kiosk at Therapia, which his father, Mahmoud, occupied during the late Russian war. The fears that were entertained, that the religious zeal of the Mussulmans might lead them to attack the Christians, were soon discovered to be devoid of a just foundation, and European travellers, with their wives and daughters, walked about the streets and bazaars without meeting or even fearing any insult.

That Turkey has long been a declining power its history abundantly proves; but the spirit and extent of its warlike efforts on this occasion, refute the assertion that it is a worn out and expiring state. The eastern empire may, perhaps, be doomed to partition at no distant time; the faith of the Arabian camel-driver may be expelled from Europe; and the race of Othman, the bone-breaker, become extinct at the same period. It is generally known, that the Turks themselves, who are fatalists in point of belief, place much faith in a wild prophecy which

\* Englishmen will not permit a feeling of indignation against Russian domination to extend to honourable men in the service of her government. Baron Brunow had been many years in England, during which his amiability of character endeared him to a large circle of friends amongst its aristocracy. During a period of more than fourteen years he transacted business with no less than five ad-

ministrations—those of Lord Melbourne, Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, and Lord Aberdeen. The baron was on terms of personal friendship with the late Duke of Wellington, and one of the last persons who saw the venerable warrior alive, having been a guest at Walmer ten days before his death. M. de Kisseleff, also, was much esteemed at Paris, where he had passed the half of his life.



limits the endurance of the Ottoman sway in Constantinople to 400 years—a period that has but lately expired. Despite this superstition, and despite (what is a thousand-fold more important) the evident decay of the Turkish empire, we have great hopes that its present close connexion with France and England, combined with the desire of its rulers to adopt European customs and improvements, may lead to its final regeneration. Turkey has enormous sources of internal wealth: mines and forests; cattle and rich pasture-lands; with broad, sunny tracts, where wheat could be grown for the millions in England and elsewhere, who are at present but half-fed and half-employed. These resources have hitherto been almost entirely neglected; but Turkey is learning wisdom in her adversity, and she will avail herself of her natural wealth in the future. Her agents are in England learning our system of mining, and collecting such notions as will set her people profitably to work. Turkey is in a transition state: she has been a military power: she was upheld by force; but having cultivated war and neglected peace, that force has gradually failed and turned to weakness. The source of England's independence is its wealth; the source of its wealth is the active intelligence and persevering industry of its people. Turkey now understands this: her people also have the necessary spirit, intelligence, and industry: they have shown that abundantly. Let them apply these noble qualities; let them awake from opium dreams of the past—open their eyes, and look upon the broad tracts of neglected soil, and strike the spade with a hearty good-will into their rich virgin lands: let them become corn-growers and cattle-breeders: let them work their numerous mines in the European style; and Turkey will pass from a weak military nation to a strong mercantile one. This could be, and we trust, not without a lively hope, that it *will* be. Russia may be the indirect cause of Turkey's awakening to a knowledge of her own latent power—of teaching her that the independence of a great nation is sustained largely by its wealth, and that wealth is produced by a proper use of its natural advantages. Turkey might supply us with many of those raw materials which our merchants and manufacturers have hitherto imported from Russia. Perhaps in the blood so plentifully shed, Turkey may be baptized to a new, more healthy, and more enduring existence.

We have been led into these brief reflections by a sense of admiration of the energy and activity of the Turkish nation in preparing for war. At that period they had collected armies of 120,000 men between the Danube and the Balkan; of 15,000 in Bosnia; of 6,000 near Pristina, on the Serbian frontier; of 50,000 at Adrianople; of 80,000 to 100,000 on the frontiers of Asia.

There was need of preparation; for the Russian armies occupying the Danubian provinces were extremely powerful, and had, of course, all the yet untried strength of the czar to back them. Enormous barracks were constructed on the banks of the Danube, and in them the Russians intended to pass the coming winter. Prince Gortschakoff levied a heavy sum upon the hospodar of Wallachia for their construction, to raise which the latter was compelled to contract a debt of about £60,000. The people of Wallachia were treated with as much severity as their government. The Russian commissariat fixed a price on all provisions brought to the public markets. This price was settled according to the value of things in the preceding summer, which was a season of great abundance, and was less than half the value of provisions at that time. Soldiers were appointed to watch the markets, to see that these unjust regulations were adhered to; and any person who demanded a higher price for his provisions than the one fixed, was seized and flogged on the spot. The Russians, however, received a sort of natural punishment for their aggression: the climate was unsuited to them; typhus and dysentery broke out among their ranks, which, together with constant desertions, so thinned them, that they could with difficulty muster 85,000 combatants. The tyranny of the Russian army, and the uneasy state of mind of its generals, may be inferred from the fact, that in Bucharest, at a later period, all unfavourable reports of what had occurred at the seat of war were actually prohibited under pain of death; and a person who had spoken disadvantageously of the Russian army was shot. By the occupation of the Russian troops, Moldavia and Wallachia were, for the time, transformed into dependencies of the czar.

The time having expired when the Russians were required to leave the Danubian principalities, at the latter end of October, 1853, the Turkish armies commenced their dangerous task of driving them out. Having

possessed themselves of an island in the Danube, opposite Widdin, they crossed the river in four places at once, and established themselves on the borders of Wallachia, at Kalafat, a position of great strategical importance. From thence they threw forward their troops, and the Russians declining the combat, withdrew before them towards Slatina.

On the 3rd or 4th of November, a body of Turks, said to amount to 12,000 men (others say 9,000 only), crossed the Danube from Turtukai to Oltenitza, villages situated on the right and left banks of the river, between Rustchuk and Silistria, on the direct route to Bucharest. Oltenitza, indeed, scarcely deserves the name of a village, as it merely consists of a few houses and a ruined fort. They were perceived by the Russians, and attacked by General Perloff, or Pauloff, at the head of 9,000 men. The engagement began at eleven o'clock, by a sharp cannonading on both sides, after which a fierce combat with fixed bayonets took place between the two armies. The engagement lasted for about four hours: both sides claimed the victory; though, as the Turks remained on the Wallachian side of the river, and the Russian troops retired, or retreated to their former position, we should award the laurel to the former. The Russians fought with great coolness and resolution; but their loss in men was considerable. During the engagement, wagons were constantly occupied in carrying off their dead, and twenty were observed heavily laden, even after the conflict. An eye-witness says he saw one officer struck from his horse, whom he supposed to be a general, as the soldiers carried him far to the rear, and a carriage drove up furiously, and took him away. Notwithstanding this, Omar Pasha, in his despatch to his government, stated that the bodies of 800 Russians were found upon the field. It was afterwards ascertained that nearly all the Russian officers in command, and several colonels, were wounded. During the action, the Turkish fortress on the opposite side of the river, at Turtukai, fired with such precision, that the shots, passing over the heads of their own troops, did great execution among the ranks of the enemy. The Turks acknowledged a loss of 106 men.

We extract the following from a letter, written by a person who witnessed the engagement from a hill in the neighbourhood:—"When we reached the spot whence

we intended to see the events of the day, we came upon two officers of distinction, sitting upon the ground with their feet towards a wood fire. These proved to be the Turkish generalissimo, Omar Pasha, and General Prim. We posted ourselves on one side of them, a little in the rear. At about eleven, A.M., the Russians marched out of the village of Oltenitza, situated about a mile, or a mile and-a-half in front of the right flank of the Turkish entrenchment. A cloud of Cossacks led the way; these were followed by four formidable-looking columns, and eighteen or twenty pieces of artillery: somewhat later, large masses of cavalry appeared on the Russian left. The infantry columns on the Russian right marched to attack the Turkish left, and halted in the wood in front of it. The other two columns advanced against the Turkish centre and right. The space between these two was filled by artillery, and several pieces advanced on the flanks. At half-past twelve, the Russian artillery in the centre opened their fire, at a distance of half-a-mile or so. The first shots fell short; but they soon contrived to get the range, and fired into and over the Turkish position. The latter quickly returned the fire. Shortly after, one of the Turkish ammunition-tumbrils exploded. At fifty minutes past one, P.M., the infantry opened their fire on both sides, and the Turkish batteries on the north side pounded the Russian columns of the left, as they advanced; but the chief attack was made from the Russian right. The firing in this quarter was very hot, and especially well kept up by the Turks. In half-an-hour this attack was repulsed; the Russians could not get nearer than a 100 yards of the entrenchment. A second attack was quickly made. The Russian columns on the left threw forward a cloud of skirmishers, and attempted to advance, but they got so mauled by the musketry and by the batteries on the south side, that they quickly retreated in great apparent confusion; and at half-past three, P.M., the musketry ceased. The artillery continued to fire for half-an-hour, retiring by degrees. By four, P.M., the whole Russian force had withdrawn, and the battle was ended. The Turks cheered loudly; and we, on our side, threw up our caps." The next day, the Russians having been reinforced by the division of General Dannenberg, renewed the attack on the Turks at Oltenitza, but were again defeated, and with a still greater



loss. The great mortality among the Russian officers arose from the fact, that the Turkish army included some battalions armed with the improved muskets, and these sharp-shooters picked off the officers on the opposite side.

About the same time, 2,000 Turks crossed the river from Rustchuk to Giurgevo, an island in the river, of importance in a military view, and after making good their footing, bombarded the town: 4,000 Turks occupied Kalarache,\* and 12,000 established themselves in Lesser Wallachia, on the right flank of the Russian army. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th of November, the Turks renewed their attacks upon Giurgevo, but without obtaining any favourable result. Scarcely any accounts of these events, which were little more than skirmishes, have been transmitted; and what has reached us, does not possess any interest. Such unimportant encounters may be left to form the natural back-ground to the great war-picture: a detail of them would injure the perspective of the narrative, and make the prominent events less striking, and less calculated to dwell in the memory.

The Turks were unable to maintain the position they had gained at Oltenitza, partly, it is said, in consequence of the heavy rains that had set in, which made their contemplated advance on the Russian head-quarters at Bucharest impracticable: they consequently recrossed, on the 13th of November, to the right bank of the Danube. They soon afterwards abandoned all the positions they had obtained on the left, or Wallachian bank of the river, except at Kalafat. At that point they mustered about 20,000 men; and from thence they pushed forward their advanced post to Krajova. The result of the engagements that had occurred, was to raise the spirits of the Turks, and to exalt them in the estimation of Europe. At Constantinople, the news was received with the most enthusiastic joy; and the sultan went in person to the Porte, and officially announced his intention of taking the field, and placing himself at the head of his troops in the spring. He also addressed a congratulatory letter to Omar Pasha, and presented that general with his favourite horse. The success of the Turks (for their grim

sanguinary resistance to the Russians was justly regarded as a great success) led to the wildest reports. It was even said that the Turkish army had advanced on Bucharest (the Russian head-quarters), fought a great battle, entered the town as victors, and finally left it blazing in three directions. When a longer period brought more sober news, it appeared that no such event had taken place.

But the beginning of the war, though not rich in great events, had done one important thing. It had shaken the mysterious feeling (a feeling of vacillation between wonder and fear) with which Europeans generally regarded the military power of Russia. Some had imagined that the Turks, in the event of their daring to attack the Russians, would be driven back like a flight of birds met and smitten by a whirlwind: that the poor Mussulmans would be scared by gleaming forests of bristling bayonets, and mowed down, crushed, and exterminated by deadly showers of lead and iron. The first engagement, though not very brilliant or decisive, dissipated this timid and feverish day-dream. The Turkish soldiers were a match for their own number of Russians; and subsequent events have proved that they are more than a match for them. At the period of which we speak, a gentleman who had just returned to Paris from the Danubian provinces, described the Russian soldiers as being most of them very wretched. With the exception of the guards, whom he had not seen, they were nearly all young lads, sickly-looking, haggard, feeble, badly clad, and badly fed. "They may stand to be killed," he says, "but it is astonishing to me how they can kill any one." The corps of Cossacks, he adds, are principally composed of young men of about sixteen or seventeen, animated not by patriotism, or a love of the czar, but by a desire of plunder. The approach of winter, and the rise of the Danube, which at that period becomes impassable from drifting blocks of ice, for a time suspended hostilities between the armies encamped on each side of it.

Such was the state of things, when a startling and terrible event took place in another quarter. On the Asiatic borders of the Euxine or Black Sea,† stands a little

\* There are two places named Kalarache on the right bank of the river—one opposite Silistria, and the other nearly opposite to Rahova.

† The progress of the war has made the name of the Black Sea "familiar in our mouths as household

words." A few lines of description, therefore, concerning it may be agreeable, and also assist the reader in forming a more tangible and real idea of the events spoken of. A little local detail and colouring makes the dead bones of dry historic nar-

town, with about eight or ten thousand inhabitants (the best harbour on the coast of Asia Minor), called Sinope. It is situated on an isthmus, connecting a high rocky peninsula with the mainland, and formed a square, flanked with towers, and covered by a small citadel. Its appearance was extremely interesting. Its ivy-elad walls, composed of fragments of Byzantine architecture, overhung deep-wooded ravines, crossed by high and narrow bridges, and many of its buildings were surrounded by gardens, whose fruits and flowers seemed, to an imaginative mind, nature's symbols of peace and plenty. Sinope was the birth-place of Diogenes, the celebrated cynical philosopher of antiquity, and the capital of the famous Mithridates, King of Pontus. It is fabled to have received its name from Sinope, a nymph whom Apollo loved and carried there. It is still rich in Greek and Paphlagonian inscriptions, busts, and military statues. These remains of a classic antiquity, which preached silent yet eloquent lessons on civilisation, were unhappily not regarded by the Turks, whom a French writer describes as having *vegetated* among them for three centuries.

During November, 1853, a Turkish squadron, consisting of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two steamers, left the Bosphorus to cruise in the Black Sea. Being overtaken by a heavy gale, the vessels put into the harbour of Sinope, and anchored there without order, by no means expecting an attack, and entirely unprepared for one. In this condition they were observed by the Russian admiral, Nachimoff, as he was cruising off the coast of Anatolia. Discerning the cruel advantage that might be obtained, although the emperor had not proclaimed war against Turkey, and had declared that he should only act on the defensive, the admiral sent to Sebastopol for reinforcements. The reinforcements soon arrived, and on the 30th of November, Admiral Nachimoff, with a Russian squadron, consisting of three three-deckers, three two-deckers, two frigates, and four steamers, entered the bay, under cover of a dense fog. rative rise into seeming life, and assume the roundness and the glow of health. The readers of Lord Byron may remember his sportive description of the Black Sea, or the Euxine, as it is otherwise called:—

"There's not a sea the passenger ere pukes in,  
That throws up waves more dangerous than the  
Euxine."

It is a great inland sea between Europe and Asia, and is surrounded by Turkey, Russia, and Circassia.

The Russian fleet approached so cautiously, that it had not been seen by the Turks until within the distance of half-a-mile, who then made a hurried and very imperfect attempt to place their vessels in such a manner as to be properly covered by the batteries on shore. As the grim intruding ships resolutely took up their positions, and dropped their anchors, a terrific fire was opened upon them by the batteries and Turkish vessels. It was responded to by the roar of broadsides from ships of an immeasurably superior weight of metal; and although the Turks fought with a desperate bravery, it was evident that they must submit or be utterly destroyed. The *Grand Duke Constantine* demolished the land battery next her guns; and soon after, one Turkish frigate blew up into the darkened air, and her lacerated, mangled crew were either rent limb from limb, or sank beneath the blood-polluted waters. An hour afterwards, two others met the same dreadful fate, the captains firing their own vessels sooner than they should fall into the hands of the enemy; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, about two hours and-a-half from the commencement of this unequal engagement, all the Turkish vessels were burnt, blown up, or driven on the shore, helpless, shattered wrecks. One vessel alone still rode at anchor, and the Russians endeavoured to tow her off as a prize. She was, however, so injured, that she began to fill with water, on which they set fire to her, and she shared the fate of the rest. Most of the ships were burnt the next day by the enemy; but one escaped, and carried the dismal news to Constantinople. The guns of the blazing vessels went off one after another; and as the latter blew up, their fiery and blackened fragments were hurled over the Turkish quarter of Sinope. The town suffered severely, and all of it between the arsenal and the citadel was burnt. When the work of slaughter and destruction was effected, the Russian admiral silenced his guns, and sent an officer with a flag of truce to tell the authorities of Sinope, that if another gun was fired, either from the town or the strand its greatest length is 700 miles; its greatest breadth, 380. The Danube, the Dniester, the Bug, the Dnieper, the Don, and other important rivers empty themselves into it, which is probably the reason that its waters are one-seventh less salt than the ocean. It is supposed to receive one-third of the running waters of Europe. The Black Sea has no tide; is liable to frequent storms; but its navigation, when understood, is said to be by no means dangerous.



batteries, he would bombard and utterly destroy the whole place.

The number of men on board the Turkish vessels were estimated at about 4,000, at least half of whom perished. Other, and later accounts, say that as many as 4,000 Turks met their deaths in those awful two hours. Such was the vindictive spirit in which the Russians carried out their work of blood, that even after the docks and ships were destroyed, they poured an incessant shower of grape and cannister on the poor wounded wretches who were struggling amid the waves, and striving to reach the shore; as if the thirst for massacre could not be stayed while one human being survived. Sinope will ever remain a monument of the cold-blooded and cowardly ferocity of Russia. Of the two admirals, Hussein escaped to the shore on a grating; but was killed on landing by a shell; the other, Osman Pasha, was wounded in the leg, and taken prisoner. When the action commenced, an English merchant-vessel, a Turkish transport, and six small Turkish merchantmen, were in the harbour, and were either burnt or sunk. Two steam-frigates, the *Retribution* and the *Mogador*, left the French and English squadrons to give assistance to the wounded; and the crew of the English merchantman were taken on board the former; that is, all except two men, who were drowned. The *Retribution* and *Mogador* also succeeded in saving and carrying to Constantinople 110 wounded Turkish seamen and soldiers, the survivors of the massacre. About 1,000 men were found on land at Sinope, and 120 others were made prisoners by the Russians.

The Russian fleet remained at Sinope until the 2nd of December, repairing the injuries it had sustained during the conflict, and then departed for Sebastopol, the damaged vessels being taken in tow by the steamers. The exact loss of the Russians cannot be stated: perhaps it is truly reported in the following announcement,

\* "It is characteristic of the Russians that they at once sought to disguise the cause of the battle, and the disgrace of such a victory, by a falsehood. In the very first accounts transmitted to Europe by Russian ministers, it was stated that this squadron was attacked because it was in the act of conveying an expedition against Souchoum Kaleh, a Russian station on the Circassian coast. That disingenuous justification preceded any charge that could be addressed to them. But the statement is false; Sinope must be between 200 and 300 miles from Souchoum Kaleh, on the Circassian coast; and the ships, when attacked, were quietly at anchor in their own har-

bour, which Prince Mentschikoff forwarded to the czar:—"The orders of your imperial majesty have been most brilliantly executed by the fleet of the Black Sea. The first Turkish squadron which ventured to enter into a contest with your ships, has, on the 18th (30th) instant, been annihilated by Vice-admiral Nachimoff. The Turkish admiral, Osman Pasha, who commanded that squadron, has been wounded, captured, and taken to Sebastopol. The enemy were in the harbour of Sinope, where, protected by their strand batteries, they accepted the engagement. We destroyed seven frigates, one long-boat, two corvettes, one steamer, and several transports. Only one steamer succeeded in making its escape. The squadron, it appears, had been sent to occupy Sukhum,\* and support the mountaineers of the Caucasus. We had one officer and thirty-three sailors killed, and 230 wounded."

The following anecdote may serve to show the way in which the Emperor Nicholas—despot as he was—was regarded with feelings of affection by such of his people as had access to him. The courier, whom Prince Mentschikoff sent to St. Petersburg with despatches announcing the victory at Sinope, spared no exertion to accomplish his journey with unusual speed, and on arriving at the capital was, according to Russian custom, immediately ushered into the presence of the emperor, to whom he delivered his despatches, saying—"I bring your majesty intelligence of the successful issue of a considerable action." The emperor, with a smile of gratification, took the man into his cabinet, and seated himself to peruse the despatches. Having finished them, he was about to express his delight at the tidings, when he found that the courier, worn out with the fatigue of his journey, had fallen asleep. So sound, indeed, was his slumber, that he was not to be aroused by ordinary means. With that quick appreciation of human nature peculiar to the czar, he called out roughly—"So-and-so,

bour. Their destination,—if they were going east at all,—was probably the Turkish port of Batoum. The Russian fleet, then, in direct violation of the emperor's declaration, that he would confine himself to defensive warfare, has been guilty of an unprovoked act of aggression on the coast of Asia; and, though it may be said that no limits can be set to the horror and barbarity of war, yet the world will be of our opinion, that such an attack on a vastly inferior force, executed with every mark of stealth and cruelty, is more worthy of the Tartars, who once commanded on the Euxine, than of the imperial navy of Russia."

your horses are ready;" and the zealous courier at once started up to resume his supposed duty. The emperor then inquired of him, what rank he held in the army? "Kapitan," was the reply. Nicholas then desired an adjutant in attendance to bring him a pair of epaulettes, and again addressing the courier, said—"I promote you, on the spot, to be *Podpolkownik* (lieutenant-colonel.) Embrace me." As the astonished officer availed himself of this distinction, the czar kissed him on the cheek. Since then, it is added, the courier has not allowed a razor to shave the spot touched by the lips of the emperor.

The Turks were destined to experience another reverse; for, on the 26th of November, they were defeated at Akhaltzik, on the Asiatic frontier, by the Russian general, Andronikoff: but of this event we will speak presently. In the meantime the *Te Deum* was sung in the chapel of the Emperor Nicholas, and in all the churches of St. Petersburg, on the 8th of December, for the victories of Sinope and Akhaltzik; and the city was illuminated in the evening. "The most pious czar," wrote the *St. Petersburg Journal*, "thanked the Lord of Hosts for the success of the victorious Russian arms, which triumphed in the *sacred* combat for the orthodox faith." The *Siccle* (a French journal), in an article of great eloquence and power, applied a red-hot brand to this disgusting hypocrisy:—"That these horrors," it says, "are accomplished in the name of war, we admit; but let not the Divinity be insulted, by calling for His interference in these revolting abominations. There was a time when war was an element of civilisation; it was the mode of activity of races and of nations, who united together and combined in the midst of these terrible shocks. In those days, and in the midst of barbarism, men made their god in the image of their unformed societies. They called him the God of armies; they lowered their standards before him; and the clergy, who blessed the soldier on his departure, received him on his return, to celebrate his victories. All that was rational. But now, when the mode of human activity is so deeply modified; when the discoveries of science have created innumerable pacific bonds between nations; when steam brings together all the capitals of Europe; when the clergy, who formerly blessed armies, have, for nearly forty years, only had to give their benedictions to locomotive manu-

factories and railways; when the religion of Mohammed, which was formerly so intolerant, now gives an example of tolerance and of a respect for rights;—in presence of such facts, is it not an insult to all notions of religion—is it not an insult to God himself, to sing a *Te Deum* for the affair of Sinope? A *Te Deum*! \* \* \* Innumerable families were in mourning; mothers desolated; orphans deploring the fate of their fathers. The angels of God veil their faces at the sight of such misery, and at such contempt for the divine work; and you, the pretended conquerors—you, who were six to one—you raise up hymns of thanksgiving, and celebrate your exploits by a *Te Deum*! Let us at least have done with such hypocrisies! If war is a necessity, let us submit to it: let us settle our international differences by cannon-shot; let us quell by force, if it cannot be done by reasoning, unmeasured and brutal ambitions, which seek to disturb the equilibrium of the world; let us muzzle the bear, to prevent its doing mischief: but let us be well understood, that the present is an exceptional fact in our times; and, instead of singing a *Te Deum*, you, the Cossacks, should ask pardon of God for all the evil which you commit, and which you impose on Europe, by the retrograde movement which you endeavour to give to modern civilisation."

The Emperor Nicholas, however, did more than order *Te Deums* to be sung in the churches throughout the capital of his empire. He expressed his satisfaction in the following letter, which he wrote with his own hand, to Prince Mentschikoff:—

"St. Petersburg, Nov. 29 (Dec. 11.)

"Prince Alexander Sergejewitsch,—The victory at Sinope proves evidently that our Black Sea fleet has shown itself worthy of its destination. With *heartly joy* I request you to communicate to my brave seamen, that I thank them for the success of the Russian flag, on behalf of the glory and honour of Russia. I perceive with satisfaction, that Tschesme has not been forgotten in the Russian navy, and that the grandsons have proved themselves worthy of their grandsires. I remain, always and unalterably, your well-inclined and grateful

"NICHOLAS."

In the conference held at the British embassy, on the receipt of the news concerning the disaster at Sinope, Admiral Dundas strenuously and nobly urged that



the combined French and English fleets should instantly set sail to attempt to overtake and punish the Russian fleet before it could return and shelter itself behind the guns of Sebastopol. Unhappily, this proposal was overruled by General Baraguay d'Hilliers, the French ambassador. It was afterwards urged, with sarcastic truth, that the French and English officers felt that every bullet which had struck the Turkish ships, had also morally hit the vessels of the allied fleets, which, almost at the time of the catastrophe, had got up a mock fight for the amusement of the inhabitants of Constantinople. The feeling of the Turks was, for a time, strong against the French and English; and in their thirst for vengeance, they talked of themselves collecting a fleet for the attack of Sebastopol. Sultan Abdul-Medjid also decreed that a monument should be erected to the memory of the brave officers of the Ottoman navy, who had blown up their ships at the battle of Sinope to save the honour of the Turkish flag.

Before the tragedy of the 30th of November took place, Redshid Pasha had addressed a note to the British and French ambassadors, requesting the assistance of the fleets of their respective nations to aid in protecting the Turkish coasts in the Black Sea. After the slaughter at Sinope, England and France were roused into a semblance of activity, and took immediate measures to prevent the repetition of a catastrophe which, we cannot but think, a less cautious policy might have prevented. On the 5th of January, the combined squadrons, which had been lying at anchor in the Bosphorus, proceeded to the Black Sea.\* The governments of England and France, however, still clinging to the almost hopcless idea of a patched and hollow peace, performed this

hostile act with the very extreme of politeness; and the following notice was first transmitted by them to the Russian governor of Sebastopol:—"Conformably with the orders of my government, the British (or the French) squadron, in concert with that of France (or of England) is on the point of appearing in the Black Sea. The object of this movement is to protect the Ottoman territory from all aggression or hostile act. I apprise your excellency thereof, with a view to prevent all collision tending to disturb the amicable relations existing between our governments, which I am desirous of preserving, and which, no doubt, your excellency is equally anxious to maintain. To this end, I shall feel happy to learn that your excellency, animated by these intentions, had deemed it expedient to give the requisite instructions to the admiral commanding the Russian forces in the Black Sea, so as to obviate any occurrence calculated to endanger peace." This gracious document, which certainly ought to have been written upon perfumed, tinted, and gilt-edged paper, was signed on behalf of England by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and on that of France by General Baraguay d'Hilliers. Certainly war itself may be carried on without harsh language; but the gentle, rose-pink complexion of this notice from the governments of two great kingdoms, towards the underling of a barbarous power, that had just been guilty of a most bloody infringement of the laws of civilised nations, exhibits an extreme of caution that probably created most unfavourable impressions in the mind of the czar—impressions that the great naval powers shrunk apprehensively from the coming contest, and were even trembling on the very verge of pusillanimity. Unhappily, we are compelled

\* A letter from St. Petersburg relates that the czar, on hearing of the entrance of the fleets into the Black Sea, evinced the most perfect calmness. In the evening, when talking in his circle of courtiers, composed of the highest personages and superior officers, he is said to have remarked, after announcing to them the entrance of the fleets, "When battle is offered to Russia, she always accepts it: she can wear mourning for a fleet, but not for the national honour. I expected the resolution come to by France and Great Britain. I am not, therefore, taken by surprise; every order has been given in anticipation of an act which, by breaking treaties, releases me from the obligations of them." It is added, that when the emperor asked Prince Mentschikoff whether he could make head against the formidable squadrons about to enter the Black Sea, that the grand admiral replied—"Conquer them, no; fight and die to the last, yes!"

Having entered the Black Sea, the combined fleets proceeded on a cruise to the eastward, along the coast of Anatolia, as far as Trebizond. The Turkish government took this opportunity of sending several of its own line-of-battle ships, to transport reinforcements to the army in Asia; of which mention will be made in the next chapter. The fleet and convoy consisted of nine English and seven French ships-of-the-line, besides steam-frigates and the Turkish squadron. The *Trafalgar* and the *Valmy*, with the British frigate *Arethusa*, remained to guard the Bosphorus. The *Retribution* was sent to Sebastopol to convey to the authorities there a notice, that the combined fleets had entered the Black Sea, to protect the Turkish territory; and also to require the surrender of two British engineers, taken on board the Turkish steamer captured by the Russians. While at Sebastopol, the officers of the *Retribution* employed themselves in sketching its fortifications.

too often to look to the past in English history as furnishing examples rather to be avoided than followed in the present; but we have had rulers,—Elizabeth, Cromwell, and William of Orange, for instance,—from whose conduct British ministers might have taken precedents with advantage.

The polite notice we have just spoken of was given to the governor of the grim fortress and town of Sebastopol, and the allied fleets had steamed into the Euxine; but still, by a pleasant fiction, peace was presumed to exist between England and France on the one hand, and Russia on the other. They were at peace, however, only because war had not been declared; but hundreds of thousands of intelligent men expected that that varnished and deceptive peace might, from hour to hour, be shattered by the roar of cannon and the wild crash of European hostilities.

The Emperor Nicholas was described by those who, at this time, had the opportunity of observing his movements, as living in a state of religious exaltation,\* regarding himself as the chosen instrument, under the hand of God, to drive the Moslems from Europe; and only regretting that he should have allowed so many years to pass by without fulfilling his destiny. It is probable that he had played this part so long, that he came at length to believe himself sincere in it. It will excite no surprise, therefore, that the Russian ambassadors, then residing at the French and English

courts, were instructed by the czar to demand whether, by the entry of the combined fleets into the Black Sea, it was intended to take part with Turkey, or to observe a strict neutrality? In the former case, they were to demand their passports. The answer of the English and French governments to this request, was communicated, on the 1st of February, to Baron Brunow, in London; and to M. de Kisseleff, in Paris. It was such as must have been anticipated, and led to a rupture of diplomatic relations, as we have already related. In the meantime the Emperor of France—possibly anxious for the restoration of tranquillity in the councils and deeds of Europe; or, as some have hinted, desirous of inscribing the name of Napoleon III. on one of the monuments of modern history—addressed the following remarkable letter to the Russian czar; a letter, which we need scarcely say, created an “intense excitement” in Paris, and an interested attention in all the other great capitals of Europe. Probably it may be regarded as a justification of the French government to the French people, rather than as an appeal to the prudence of the Emperor of Russia. Not only was it published in the *Moniteur*, but a million copies were printed and distributed throughout France.

“Palace of the Tuileries, Jan. 29, 1854.

“Sire,—The difference which has arisen between your majesty and the Ottoman Porte has assumed such a grave aspect, that I think it

\* A letter from Memel, dated 4th of March, 1854, by a person who had just come from St. Petersburg, says—“The Greek cross appears everywhere as the sanctifying symbol of the present war; and on every side we hear the words repeated of ‘Orthodox Faith,’ ‘Holy Confidence,’ ‘Holy Russia,’ &c. Texts from the Scriptures have come to be mingled with the jargon of the fashionable saloons. The emperor himself adopts them in conversation of the most ordinary kind, and in all his public addresses; and he appears struck with the *monomanie* of preaching and haranguing to all about him in a manner that is truly ridiculous. Very recently, and in presence of his whole court, he delivered a sort of sermon, which terminated nearly with the following words: ‘Russia, whose destinies God has especially entrusted to me, is menaced. But woe, woe—woe to those who menace us: we shall know how to defend the honour of the Russian name, and the inviolability of our frontier. Following in the path of my predecessors—faithful, like them, to the orthodox faith—after having invoked, like them, the aid of the Almighty God, we shall await our enemies with a firm foot, from what side soever they come, persuaded that our ancient device—the Faith, the Czar, and the Country—will open to us, as it has ever done, the path of victory. *Nobiscum Deus! Audite populi, et vincimini; quia nobiscum Deus!*’ The im-

perial court was astounded; it never suspected that the czar possessed this biblical erudition, and could scarcely contain its astonishment. It is certain, that for some time past most people are convinced that something extraordinary is the matter with the emperor; for while his memory appears not to have failed him, his other mental faculties seem to have been seriously affected. He has become sombre and morose to an intolerable degree. Whether it be the effect of years, or of the annoyances or embarrassments in which he sees himself placed, I know not; but such is the fact. Perhaps all combine to produce this effect. The result is a state of exasperation which he can scarcely keep within bounds, even in the presence of the foreign ministers.” Other accounts described Nicholas as in a state of great nervous excitement. At one time elated by the consciousness of a Divine mission to extirpate infidelity and liberalism from the face of the earth; at another, labouring under the greatest depression of spirits, suspecting all around him—even his most attached friends—of treachery; picturing to himself the future in the most gloomy colours; and not unfrequently fancying that his end was destined to be one of violence. He was, it appears, often oppressed with this gloomy idea; and the symptoms of that malady which had affected more than one of his family were evident to critical observers.



right myself to explain directly to your majesty the part which France has taken in this question, and the means which suggest themselves to me in order to avoid the dangers which menace the tranquillity of Europe. The note which your majesty has just sent to my government, and to that of Queen Victoria, endeavours to prove that it was the system of pressure adopted from the commencement by the two maritime powers which alone involved the question in bitterness. On the contrary, according to my view, the matter would have continued a cabinet question if the occupation of the two principalities had not suddenly transferred it from the region of discussion to that of fact. Nevertheless, although your majesty's troops had entered Wallachia, we advised the Porte not to consider that occupation as a warlike act; thus proving our extreme desire for conciliation. After I had consulted with England, Austria, and Prussia, I proposed to your majesty a note, designed to give satisfaction to all. Your majesty accepted it. We had hardly, however, been informed of this good news when your minister, by explanatory commentaries, destroyed all the conciliatory effects of it, and thus prevented us from insisting at Constantinople upon its pure and simple adoption. The Porte, for its own part, suggested some modifications in the note, to which the representatives of the four powers at Vienna were not indisposed to agree. They were not, however, agreed to by your majesty. It was then that the Porte, wounded in its dignity, its independence threatened, and being compelled to raise an army to oppose that of your majesty, preferred to declare war rather than remain in a state of uncertainty and humility. The Porte had claimed our support; the cause of the Porte appeared to us to be a just one; and the English and French squadrons were therefore ordered to the Bosphorus. Our attitude in reference to Turkey was that of a protector; but it was passive. We did not incite her to war. We unceasingly addressed to the ears of the sultan the advice of peace and moderation, persuaded that this was the best mode of coming to an agreement; and the four powers consulted together again, and submitted to your majesty some other propositions. Your majesty, on your part, exhibiting the calmness which arises from the consciousness of strength, contented yourself with repulsing from the left bank of the Danube, as in Asia, the attacks of the Turks; and, with the moderation worthy of the chief of a great empire, your majesty declared that you would act on the defensive. Up to that period, then, we were, I may say, interested spectators, but simply spectators, of the dispute, when the affair of Sinope compelled us to take a more decisive part. France and England had not thought it necessary to send troops to the assistance of Turkey. Their flag, therefore, was not engaged in the conflicts which took place upon

land. But at sea it was very different. There were at the entrance to the Bosphorus 3,000 guns, the existence of which proclaimed loudly enough to Turkey that the two leading maritime powers would not allow her to be attacked by sea. The affair at Sinope was for us as painful as it was unexpected; for it matters little to us whether or not the Turks wished to convey munitions of war to the Russian territory. In fact, Russian ships attacked Turkish vessels in the waters of Turkey, while those vessels were riding quietly at anchor in a Turkish port. The Turkish vessels were destroyed, in spite of the assurance that there was no wish to commence an aggressive war, and in spite of the vicinity of our squadrons. It was no longer our policy which received a check; it was our military honour. The sound of the cannon-shot at Sinope reverberated painfully in the hearts of all those who in England and in France respect national dignity. There was a general participation in the sentiment that wherever our cannon can reach, our allies ought to be respected. Out of this feeling arose the order given to our squadrons to enter the Black Sea, and to prevent by force, if necessary, the recurrence of a similar event. Thence arose the collective notification sent to the cabinet of St. Petersburg, announcing that if we prevented the Turks from making an aggressive war upon the coasts of Russia, we would also protect the Turks upon their own territory. As to the Russian fleet, in prohibiting its navigation of the Black Sea, we placed it upon a different condition, because it was important during the war to preserve a guarantee equivalent in force to the occupation of the Turkish territory, and thus facilitate the conclusion of peace by having the power of making a desirable exchange. Such, Sire, is the real result and a statement of the facts. It is clear that, having arrived at this point, they must either bring about a definitive understanding or a decided rupture. Your majesty has given so many proofs of your solicitude for the tranquillity of Europe, and by your beneficent influence has so powerfully arrested the spirit of disorder, that I cannot doubt as to the course you will take in the alternative which presents itself to your choice. Should your majesty be as desirous as myself of a pacific conclusion, what would be more simple than to declare that an armistice shall now be signed; that things shall resume their diplomatic course; that all hostilities shall cease; and that the belligerent forces shall return from the places to which motives of war have led them? Thus the Russian troops would abandon the principalities, and our squadrons the Black Sea. Your majesty, preferring to treat directly with Turkey, might appoint an ambassador, who could negotiate with a plenipotentiary of the sultan a convention which might be submitted to a conference of the four powers. Let your majesty adopt this plan, upon

which the Queen of England and myself are perfectly agreed, and tranquillity will be re-established and the world satisfied. There is nothing in the plan which is unworthy of your majesty,—nothing which can wound your honour; but if, from a motive difficult to understand, your majesty should refuse this proposal, then France, as well as England, will be compelled to leave to the fate of arms and the chances of war that which might now be decided by reason and justice. Let not your majesty think that the least animosity can enter my heart. I feel no other sentiments than those expressed by your majesty yourself in your letter of the 17th of January, 1853, in which you write, ‘Our relations ought to be sincerely amicable, based, as they are, upon the same intentions—the maintenance of order, the love of peace, respect for treaties, and reciprocal good feeling.’ This programme is worthy of the sovereign who traced it, and I do not hesitate to declare that I remain faithful to it. I beg your majesty to believe in the sincerity of my sentiments; and it is with these sentiments that

“I am, Sire, your majesty’s good friend,  
“NAPOLEON.”

The following is the substance of the reply of the Emperor Nicholas, as published in the *St. Petersburg Journal*:—“If his imperial majesty extends his hand to me, as I extend mine, I am ready to forget the mortification I have experienced—harsh though it be. Then, but then only, can I discuss the matter treated of in his letter; and we may, perhaps, arrive at an understanding. Let the French fleet prevent the Turks from transporting reinforcements to the theatre of war; and let the Turks send me a plenipotentiary to negotiate, whom I will receive as befits his character. The conditions already made

\* This manifesto of the Emperor Nicholas elicited a letter from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French minister of foreign affairs. It was addressed to the diplomatic agents of the Emperor Napoleon, and contains the following clear and caustic criticism of the announcement which Nicholas put forth to deceive his people, and excite them to a state of religious enthusiasm against the Turks and their allies:—“I will only say one word, sir, of the manifesto in which his majesty, the Emperor Nicholas, announces to his people the resolutions he has taken. Our epoch, however troubled, had at least been exempt from one of the evils which most afflicted the world in former days—I mean the wars of religion. Now, however, an echo of these disastrous times is made to resound in the ears of the Russian people. There is an affectation of opposing the Cross to the Crescent, and an appeal is made to fanaticism for that support which cannot be obtained from reason. France and England need not defend themselves from the imputation made against them. They do not support Islamism against the orthodox Greek faith. They go to protect the Ottoman empire

known to the conference at Vienna are the sole base on which I will consent to treat.” The letter was afterwards published in full, and is of some length; but the above is a correct summary of it. The emperor still endeavoured to give the war a religious character, and to throw on England and France the odium of supporting the enemies of Christianity. In this spirit he added:—“My confidence is in God and my right.” At this period, the Russian government was indefatigable in its exertions to excite the ignorant fanaticism of the people. Every day processions traversed the streets, and exhibited the relics of the saints of the Greek calendar. The clergy, also (unhappily too ready to profane religion in the cause of injustice), everywhere urged the true believers to take up arms in defence of the orthodox faith. In addition to his reply to the Emperor Napoleon, the czar Nicholas also put forth another very pious manifesto to the Russian people.\* We subjoin it:—

“We, Nicholas I., &c.—We have already informed our beloved and faithful subjects of the progress of our disagreements with the Ottoman Porte. Since then, although hostilities have commenced, we have not ceased sincerely to wish, as we still wish, the cessation of bloodshed. We entertained even the hope that reflection and time would convince the Turkish government of its misconceptions, engendered by treacherous instigations, in which our just demands, founded on treaties, have been represented as attempts at its independence veiling intentions of aggrandisement. Vain, however, have been our expectations so far. The English and French governments have sided with Turkey, and the appearance of the combined fleets off Constantinople served as a further incentive to against the ambitious covetousness of Russia. They go there with the conviction, that the presence of their armies in Turkey will destroy the prejudices (already much weakened) which still separate the different classes of the subjects of the Sublime Porte, and which cannot be resuscitated unless the appeal sent from St. Petersburg, by provoking hatred of race and a revolutionary explosion, should paralyse the generous intentions of the sultan, Abdul-Medjid. For us, sir, we seriously believe, that by giving our support to Turkey, we shall be of more use to the Christian faith, than the government which uses it as an instrument to advance its temporal ambition. Russia is too oblivious, in the reproaches she makes against others, that she is far from exercising in her own empire, in reference to the sects not professing the dominant faith, a tolerance equal to that to which the Sublime Porte has a good right to lay honourable claim; and that if she were to display less apparent zeal for the Greek religion beyond her frontiers, and more charity towards the catholic religion at home, she would better obey the law of Christ, which she so pompously invokes.”



its obstinacy; and now both the Western powers, without previously declaring war, have sent their fleets into the Black Sea, proclaiming their intention to protect the Turks, and to impede the free navigation of our vessels of war for the defence of our coasts. After a course of proceeding so unheard-of among civilised nations we recalled our embassies from England and France, and have broken off all political intercourse with those powers. Thus, England and France have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia combating for the orthodox faith. But Russia will not betray her holy mis-

sion; and, if enemies infringe her frontiers, we are ready to meet them with the firmness bequeathed to us by our forefathers. Are we not still the same Russian nation of whose exploits the memorable events of 1812 bear witness? May the Almighty assist us to prove this by deeds. With this hope, combating for our persecuted brethren, followers of the faith of Christ, with one accord let all Russia exclaim—'O Lord, our Redeemer! whom shall we fear? May God be glorified, and His enemies be scattered!'

"St. Petersburg, 9 (21) February, 1854."

## CHAPTER V.

THE WAR IN ASIA; THE CAUCASUS; SCHAMYL, THE PROPHET AND HERO OF THE CAUCASUS; CAPTURE OF FORT ST. NICHOLAS; DEFEAT OF THE TURKS AT THE BATTLE OF AKHALTZIK; THREATENED HOSTILITIES WITH PERSIA.

IN the last chapter, we mentioned that the Turks had suffered a defeat at Akhaltzik, a few days before the lamentable destruction of a great part of their navy at Sinope. To prevent confusion, we merely referred to the event in that place; and now the reader must imagine a change of scene from Europe to Asia—from the banks of the Danube to the wild, mountainous regions of the Caucasus.

Accounts of the war in Asia against Russian aggression have reached us in a very confused and uncertain manner. The region, also, is so remote from England, that very imperfect ideas are entertained concerning it. The country of Circassia, bordering on the Black Sea, is commonly supposed to be the theatre of the war; while it is really Daghestan, or that portion of the isthmus which extends along the west coast of the Caspian. Schamyl is spoken of as the native hero of the war; but, to most English readers, Schamyl, the "prophet and hero of the Caucasus," is little more than a name. It will be to the purpose to give some idea of him, the region he inhabits, and his struggles in unison with the Ottomans. It will possess a further interest from the fact that Schamyl and his patriotic mountaineers are the barrier which has prevented Russia from extending its enormous and increasing bulk in the direction of our Indian

First, of the country.—"The great range of the Caucasian Mountains," says a contemporary writer, "which forms one of the highest and most inaccessible regions of the globe, runs in a south-eastern direction across the whole of that country which divides the Euxine and the Caspian seas. To the north of it lies the boundless steppes of Russia, extending from Astrachan to the Sea of Azoff; to the south the Turkish pashalics of Kars, Akhaltzik, and Erzeroum, and the Russian province of Georgia, bounded by the Araxes. The intermediate and mountainous regions of Circassia and Daghestan, have been, for twenty years, the scene of the gallant struggle carried on by Schamyl, and the tribes which follow his standard, against the Russians. Three roads connect the Transcaucasian provinces of Russia with the rest of the empire. The first winds along the coast of the Black Sea by Anapa, Ghelendjik, and Soucham Kaleh, till it enters Imcritia, and reaches the valley of the Kour, in which Teflis lies. The second follows the shore of the Caspian to Derbend, an extensive fortified position, which has, in all ages, been regarded as one of the gates of Asia, and was captured by Peter the Great when he first turned his arms against Persia. The third road passes from Mosdoz to Teflis by the valley of the Terek and the fortress of the Duriel, through one of the most terrific passes in the world.

The rest of the Caucasian chain is supposed to be wholly impassable by an army, though, in the course of the Circassian war, its valleys have been explored in every direction, and the Russians have constructed numerous forts to keep the country in check. Of these roads, the first is insecure if the Russians have not the absolute command of the coast and of the Black Sea. The third is probably impracticable in winter. The second is liable to interruption by the Lesghian tribes of Daghestan, who are the mortal enemies of the Russians; but Derbend, though a bad port, may be reached by the steamers which the Russians alone possess on the Caspian Sea."

The mountain range of the Caucasus extends to about 750 miles in length, and from 65 to 150 in breadth. Mount Elburz, its highest peak, rises to an elevation of 17,796 feet. The Circassians give to it the name of Dshin Padishah, or Commander of the Genii. Many superstitions are connected with it; and tradition relates that Noah's ark first rested on Elburz before it reached Ararat, and that the mountain was cleft in two by its weight. The summits of the Caucasian chain are covered with perpetual ice and snow; but the climate of the valleys is warm and healthy, though parts of it are exposed to burning heats in the summer. According to Greek mythology, the Caucasus was the scene of one of its grandest fictions. It was there that Prometheus was bound, for having made a man of clay, and animated him with fire that he had stolen from heaven. The punishment of the Titan was to last for thirty thousand years, during which period a vulture was to be continually gnawing his liver, which, though constantly devoured, was never diminished. Prometheus, it is said, endured this agony for thirty years, when he was delivered by Hercules, who released him and killed his feathered tormentor. The Circassians and Georgians are considered the finest types of the human family; and the Caucasian race is the name by which the white population, distributed over Europe, America, and part of Asia and Africa, is distinguished. Those portions of the Caucasian region which are situated in Europe are called Cis-Caucasia, and comprise the provinces of Caucasus, Circassia, and Daghestan. The inhabitants of these countries are nominally subject to Russia; but most of the tribes maintain a constant life-and-death struggle against her authority. The Asiatic parts of this interesting region

are called Trans-Caucassia, and comprise the countries situated between Turkey, Persia, the Caspian and the Black seas.

Such is the natural love of liberty of many of these mountain tribes, and so bravely do they fight for their independence, that some Russian military authorities have expressed an opinion, that peace will not be restored to the Caucasus *until all the inhabitants are killed*. We presume, that if the Russians had the power to carry out such an idea, they would have too much humanity to attempt it. However, it is not in their power; and the probability is, that it will become still less so. Russia can only support the semblance of her authority by keeping up an enormous military establishment, distributed over the whole line of frontier. Still, the mountainous and least accessible portion remains unsubdued; and for sixty years the hardy Daghestans and other tribes, have continued the contest against the gigantic power of the north. Of course they are incapable of meeting the Russian troops in open battle, and their efforts have been chiefly directed to the surprise of outlying posts and forts, and to sudden forays and inroads upon the neighbouring Russian territory. Year after year a part of the Russian force attack Schamyl and the other beys in their strongholds, and almost invariably with the same want of success. Protected by these grand natural defences of their land—the mountains—the patriots of the Caucasus permit the Russians to penetrate into defiles where discipline and order are unavailing, and from whence they are compelled to retreat with loss and disgrace.

"Notwithstanding," says an interesting writer, "the length of time the Russians have been making war in that country, they are deplorably ignorant of the ground, and no opportunity has been allowed of making a map of the country. No one has, as yet, penetrated into their glens, their ravines and mountains; and the knowledge of the Russians is very limited indeed. They are, therefore, obliged to creep timidly along, while the natives act with a complete knowledge of the locality. They fall suddenly and terribly upon the columns that are sent against them, whenever they have the superiority in numbers and position, and then as rapidly disappear amid the clefts of the rocks. They often hide among the stunted wood along the banks of the river, and from their place of concealment, attack



sometimes the head of the Russian columns, and sometimes the rear, which they almost invariably destroy; or, with a precision that never misses, bring down the officers. They then fall back through places whither pursuit is hopeless. They often take up their position in the dense forests which serve as one of their principal defences. The Russians, before venturing to enter, send scouts and skirmishers in all directions; but no enemy is discovered. Then, believing that the coast is clear, they penetrate into the forest, and in an instant, as if by magic, every tree is alive with men. Showers of bullets pour from above and below, and before the enemy can recover from his confusion, his men fall in masses or fly. In truth, there is scarcely a tree, the crest of a hill, a defile, a crag, a stream in the Caucasus, which is not steeped in Russian blood. The mountaineers defend every inch of ground with indomitable obstinacy. It is a war without quarter; a war to the knife. On the grave of each Circassian that has fallen by a Russian bullet a mark is affixed, which is never removed until the brother, the father, or some more distant relative, avenges his death by that of an enemy. The pretended civilisation of the barbarians of the north has no charm for the mountaineers, and they are regardless of anything which would put in peril the independence they prize above existence."

For some years past, Prince Woronzoff, governor-general of the Caucasian province, and commander-in-chief of the Russian armies there, has contented himself with confining the inhabitants of the unsubdued territory within a strict cordon—within a circle which has been growing gradually more and more narrow. Within that circle the spirit of the people, and their heroic devotion to independence, has been upheld by the bravery and religious fanaticism of the great warrior and law-giver of the Caucasus, Schamyl; with whom, since the outbreak of the war with Russia, the Sultan of Turkey has wisely entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. The sultan resolved to retaliate on the emperor by an attack on the Russian provinces in Asia. The result was, that a Turkish army of about 70,000 men, was sent into Asia; the struggle between the sons of the mountains and their would-be enslavers, was renewed with fresh vigour; and that which so long seemed hopeless, may at length be crowned with success. By grasping at Constantinople,

Russia will probably lose the Caucasus. The army at present required in the latter, to support the authority of the czar, is enormous. The troops there, and those in the adjoining country under the same command, were stated, by Prince Woronzoff, in conversation with an English officer who visited his camp, as amounting to 300,000 men. Allowing, says the reporter of this incident, for the exaggeration natural to a loose conversational estimate, we may probably safely conjecture them to number 250,000. For ourselves, we cannot say we are inclined to endorse this statement: it savours of that extravagance which has come to be regarded as a characteristic of Russian statistics.

Schamyl was born in the year 1797, at the little village of Himri, near the mountain-fortress of that name in Tchetchentzi, the central country of the Caucasian isthmus. He received a religious education, and in early youth conceived an enthusiastic admiration for the Koran. He was also distinguished for an unbending spirit; a serious dignified manner; a love of knowledge; and a proud ambition. A sort of mystic religion, based upon the Koran, had for some years gained ground in the Caucasus. It was derived from Persia: those who held it were called Sefations, or Attributists, and believed that it was possible for devout men to enter into direct communion with God. One of its most distinguished preachers was Kasi Mullah, who was regarded as a prophet. This man demanded unlimited faith and obedience from his followers; from amongst whom he selected a few, who were called Murids, who pledged themselves to die, if necessary, in the defence of their religion. Schamyl had been a pupil of this man, and became one of his most distinguished Murids. Kasi Mullah was a patriot, as well as a religious man; and he, his Murids, and their forces, had thrown themselves into the mountain-fortress of Himri, which they supposed inaccessible. There they were besieged by the Russians, under General Rosen, in the autumn of 1832. After twenty-five days, the Russians took the last redoubt; Kasi Mullah and all his Murids perished save one, who contrived to escape with a bayonet-stab, and a bullet in his side. That one was Schamyl: and when he again appeared at the head of his countrymen, he was looked upon almost as one raised from the dead. The patriots he commanded regarded him as a special favourite of heaven; and he became the

first of the Murids. His piety and bravery, added to the mystery attaching to him from other escapes from situations where death seemed inevitable, led to his appointment as successor to Hamsad Bey, the chief of the Murids and patriots of the Caucasus.

So great was the reputation and daring of Schamyl, that the czar sent General Grabbe to the Caucasus, with orders to pursue him wherever he might be. The general attacked Schamyl in his strong retreat—the fortress of Alkucho, which was described as a rock-nest, and supposed to be inaccessible. The siege lasted for four months; and, after the shedding of much Russian blood the fort was taken. The Russians, who were in the proportion of thirty to one, murdered every person they found, not sparing even women or children. They then eagerly turned over the ghastly and blood-dripping bodies, in search of the corpse of Schamyl. It was in vain; for, in some mysterious way, the patriot had escaped.

Schamyl and a few faithful Murids had retired to a large cave in the side of a neighbouring mountain, at the foot of which ran a river. In a little while the Russians were upon their track, and death from the sword, or from starvation, seemed inevitable. In this position the Murids resolved to put their doctrine in practice, and lay down their lives to save that of their prophet. Accordingly, they lashed together the trunks of some trees so as to form a raft, and then launched themselves upon the stream. The Russians soon perceived the devoted little party of patriots, and called out, "There is Schamyl!" Hurried orders were given; a party of mounted Cossacks dashed into the river, reached the raft, and massacred every one upon it. Returning from this work of butchery, they exulted in the thought that at last the orders of the czar were obeyed, and Schamyl was no more. They were deceived: while the attention of the Russians had been fixed upon the raft, the hero plunged into the river unobserved, swam across, and soon disappeared among the mountains on the opposite side.

Schamyl retired to Dargo, a town and fortress situated in the midst of steep rocks, on the top of a mountain, to which there is no approach except by tortuous defiles and through immense forests. Again General Grabbe pursued him, bent upon the destruction of the patriot. Schamyl permitted the Russian force to approach Dargo unmolested

until it was completely in his power, when the mountaineers suddenly dashed down upon it with surprising fury. The Russians, hemmed in and attacked on every side, nearly all perished. General Grabbe himself escaped with difficulty, accompanied by a miserable remnant of his dispirited men. The czar, in displeasure, recalled the baffled general, and appointed another in his place. Schamyl, in return for the injuries inflicted on him and his adherents, invaded and ravaged Awaria, which was in alliance with Russia, and compelled a Russian garrison there to surrender at discretion. A body of troops had been sent to its relief; but Schamyl, hearing of their approach, waylaid them and massacred every man. General Kluge then arrived in Awaria with a force thrice as great as that of Schamyl; but the latter encountered and utterly defeated him. After the Russians had suffered many other reverses from the brave mountaineers, Prince Woronzoff was appointed commander-in-chief of the Caucasus, and adopted a different policy for the subjection of Schamyl and his hardy patriots.

To an interesting little work, entitled *Schamyl and Circassia*, by Dr. Friedrich Wagner, we are indebted for the following description of the appearance and manners of this famous mountain-chief:—

"Schamyl is also the worthy head of the fiery sect whose prophet he has been chosen. He is of middle growth, fair, almost red-haired—especially in his beard, where there are also a few grey hairs,—has grey eyes, a well-formed nose, and a little mouth. A marble calmness, which least deserts him in the hour of danger, governs his whole behaviour; and his speech is totally free from excitement, whether conversing with friend, foe, or traitor. He is convinced that his actions are direct inspirations of God: he eats little, drinks water only, sleeps but few hours, and passes all his leisure time in reading the Koran, and in prayer; but when he speaks, he has, so says Berek Bey, the poet of Daghestan,—

"Lightnings in his eye, and on his lip, flowers."

"He is, in fact, master in the highest degree of that Oriental eloquence which is so fitted to rouse the sleeping souls of the faithful; and he manages to outbid the Russian generals in their metaphorical language. If the Russians say that they are numerous as the sands of the sea, Schamyl



replies that the Circassians are the waves that wash away the sands. In his proclamation to the warriors of both Kabardahs, he says:—‘Believe not that God favours the greater number; God stands arrayed in the cause of the good; and the number of the good is less than that of the wicked. Look around and behold proof everywhere of what I tell you. Are there not fewer roses than weeds? Is there not more mud than there are pearls—are there not many more vermin than useful animals? Is not gold rarer than less noble metals? And are we not of more account than gold and roses, than pearls and horses, and all the useful animals upon the earth?—For all the treasures of the earth are perishable, while to us an eternal life is reserved. But, if there be more weeds than roses, shall we, instead of rooting them up, wait until they have overgrown and destroyed the nobler flowers? And if our enemies be more numerous than are we, is it a wise thing in us to be snared in their nets? Say not: our enemies have overcome Tsherkey, stormed Aehulko, and conquered the land of Awaria! If the lightning strike a tree, do the other trees bow their heads in fear, lest they also should be stricken? O ye of little faith! follow the counsel which the trees of the forest give you, that would shame you if they had the gift of language and could speak! And if one fruit is eaten by worms, do the rest of the fruits putrify in fear, lest they should also be food for the worms? Therefore, be not afraid in that the unfaithful so rapidly multiply, and ever bring new warriors to the battle-field to replace those whom we have destroyed. For I say unto you, a thousand poisonous things shoot up out of the earth ere a single good tree reaches maturity. I am the root of the tree of liberty; the Murids are the trunk; and ye are the branches. But believe not that the withering of one branch will cause the destruction of the entire tree! God will cut off the foul branches, and cast them into the flames of destruction. Therefore, return ye sorrowfully, and place yourselves among those who fight for our faith, and ye will obtain my favour, and I will be your shield. But if ye continue to give more belief to the deceitful words of the infidels than ye do to my speech, I will do that which Kasi Mohammed formerly had it in his mind to do. My bands will overwhelm your villages like a storm-cloud, to compel that which you deny to my friendly as-

surances. I will come with bloody footsteps; desolation and fear shall follow and precede my hosts; for what the might of eloquence may not do, shall be effected with the edge of the sword.’

“The Kabardians, however, more terrified at the Russians than at Schamyl, remained unmoved, notwithstanding this proclamation; and when Aehwerdu Mahommed, Schamyl’s general, entered the country, he was killed by one of the Russianized tribes. Schamyl kept his word, left the Russian forts alone, and fell upon their auls with fire and sword. More than sixty villages of the Kabardah were burnt, and he carried off an immense booty, together with a considerable number of prisoners. Schamyl resided in the little fortress of Aehulko, where he had himself a European house of two stories, constructed by Russian deserters and prisoners. At first his government was so poor, that the soldiers had to supply him with the means of existence; and yet religious enthusiasm had rendered him as powerful as if he had possessed tons of gold. His slightest word was sufficient, and his Murids were ready to go to the death for him. None of the chiefs of Daghestan before his time had wielded such authority. Even Sheikh Mansoor, who carried the standard of revolt through the whole of Circassia—the mighty hero, the high-minded sower in the fertile field of faith—was only a famous and dreaded warrior; but Schamyl is not only general and sultan of the Tshetshenzes, but also their prophet; and since 1834, Daghestan’s war-cry is:—‘Mohammed was Allah’s first prophet; Schamyl is His second.’”

When, in 1845, Prince Woronzoff was appointed by the Emperor Nicholas to be commander-in-chief of the Russian armies in the Caucasus, he found Schamyl no longer chief of a few small tribes only, but ruler over a whole nation. His bravery as a warrior, his eloquence as a preacher, his wisdom as a lawgiver, and his reputation as a prophet, enabled him to found a sort of barbarous monarchy among the rude sons of the mountains. Various tribes and races united under his rule in the cause of their religion and liberty. His income, at first derived from the plunder of his enemies, was at length raised in a more legitimate way by taxes levied on his people. He has a thousand picked soldiers for his body-guard, and never leaves his dwelling without being followed by a train of five hundred men.

He governs by a code of laws, written by himself; and when any difficulty arises, retires to some solitary place to pray and wait for a communication from the Deity upon the subject. Schamyl lives soberly, eats but little, sleeps but a few hours at a time, and occasionally sustains prolonged fasts. In one respect he exceeds the bounds of temperance—that is, according to European ideas; for he has three wives. He rules with stern severity; and a wild story is told of the extent to which religious enthusiasm is capable of going, in a mind open to all its promptings. In 1843, the inhabitants of the Great and Little Tshetshna, pressed on all sides by the Russian troops, resolved to send a deputation to Schamyl to entreat for assistance to drive away the Russians, or for permission to submit to their government. Aware that the latter proposition would excite the fury of the chieftain, they applied to his aged mother, and gave her 200 pieces of gold to intercede for them with her son on the subject. This she undertook to do; and after the interview, Schamyl, in astonishment and anger, shut himself up in the mosque, to await in fasting and prayer the will of the great prophet. For three days and nights he remained in the mosque, and at length came forth, looking pale and sorrowful. Having summoned his mother and the people, he thus addressed the latter:—"Inhabitants of Dargo! Fearful is that which I have to tell you! The Tshetshenzes have conceived the horrible idea of submitting to the dominion of the *giaours*, and have actually dared to send ambassadors here with their vile proposition. Well these deputies knew their evil-doings; therefore they came not before me, but addressed themselves to my unhappy mother, who weakly gave way to their urgency, and brought the desires of these miscreants before me. My tender consideration for my beloved mother induced me to inquire of Mohammed himself, the prophet of Allah, what his will might be. Therefore have I, for these three days and nights, with fasting and prayers, called upon the name of the prophet. He has esteemed me worthy of a reply; but how horrible for me was his decision! According to the will of Allah, the first who made this proposition known to me is to be punished with a hundred blows of the whip; and the first—oh, that I have to tell it—was my unhappy mother!"

The aged woman was instantly seized,

bound to a pillar of the mosque, and Schamyl himself took the whip and commenced the execution of the unnatural sentence. The poor old mother, probably wounded as much by the ingratitude of her son as by the agony of the lash, fell dead at the fifth blow. The inflexible man threw himself upon the earth in tears; and after remaining for some time in prayer, rose and announced that Mohammed had permitted him to take upon himself the remainder of the blows to which his mother had been condemned. Stripping his broad shoulders, he commanded two soldiers to give him the ninety-five blows, which he received without relaxing a muscle of his rigid features. Then, calling for the deputies from the Tshetshna, he dismissed them to their tribe, with a command to relate all they had seen and heard. The trembling deputies were glad to escape with their lives, and we need scarcely say that no other deputations waited upon Schamyl with projects of submission.

We mentioned that the sultan, Abdul-Medjid, had entered into an alliance with Schamyl. The latter informed Abdi Pasha, the commander of the Turkish army sent to the Asiatic frontier, that he was prepared to act in concert with him, at the head of twenty thousand men; and the two addressed themselves to carry out a plan, which, if successful, would strike a heavy blow at the power of Russia in the Caucasus.

The first incident of the war in Asia, though by no means important, bore an ominous appearance as to the success of Russia. It was the capture of St. Nicholas, a fort situated on the coast of the Black Sea, about thirty miles north of Batoum, and named after the patron saint of the czar himself. This post, though defended by two battalions of infantry, three companies of Cossacks, and one artillery company, was said to be in a wretched condition, and unfit to sustain an attack. The Turks fell upon it at midnight, on the 28th of November, 1853, and after a conflict of four hours' duration, the fort was taken. Only about thirty Russian soldiers and three officers succeeded in cutting a passage through the enemy's ranks and effecting their escape; the rest were either slaughtered or taken prisoners. The loss of the Turks was very considerable; but they took two thousand muskets and four cannons as trophies of their victory. A Russian writer accuses the Turks of great barbarity on this occasion: he states that they crucified the



customs' officer belonging to the fort, and while suspended upon the cross, used him as a target for their bullets; that they sawed off the head of the priest belonging to the establishment, and murdered his wife in an atrocious manner. Such are the horrors incidental to war, when it too often occurs that the worst passions of the worst of our species are not to be restrained in times of excitement. As the Turkish troops generally are not charged with cruelty, but often described as exercising a humanity which is highly commendable, we should imagine that the outrages we have alluded to were, if indeed they actually occurred, perpetrated by some of the irregular troops or Bashi Bazouks. A letter from Constantinople relates, that one of the Russian soldiers who had been taken prisoner on the coast of Asia Minor, was brought before the Seraskier, where he underwent a short examination. Having answered several questions, as to the corps to which he belonged, and the military *régime* of Russia, an offer was made to him of passing some days at Constantinople, and then of being sent to Prince Gortschakoff, on condition that he would everywhere say what he had seen, and tell his comrades that the Turks do not eat the Christians. The man refused, saying he did not know what awaited him on his return; that the best that could happen to him would no doubt be to be sent back to his regiment; but that he had had enough of it. "But," it was said to him "you can see your family again." "My family!" replied the soldier; "I have been separated from it for eighteen years; and since the day that I was taken from my village, I have had no news of my father, my mother, or any of my relatives! They are, perhaps, all dead, or they have forgotten me! Leave me here until the peace: there will always be time enough to give me up." The Russians made five attempts to retake fort St. Nicholas, and were repulsed in each. At the time when the fort fell into the hands of the Turks, a Russian ship of war, the *Foudroyant*, ran aground on the coast, and was destroyed by the enemy. It was conveying troops, and had 1,600 men on board, 1,400 of whom were drowned; the remaining 200 were saved by the Turks.

Several other conflicts took place, without any important advantage being gained by either side; though military operations appear to be chiefly in favour of the Ottoman arms. At length, on the 26th of November,

1853, the Turks sustained a serious defeat at Akhaltzik, on the borders of Georgia and Armenia, by the Russians under General Andronikoff. In the absence of accounts from both armies engaged, we cannot do better than give a description of the conflict in the language of the Russian general, Prince Andronikoff. Some little deduction may be made, on the score of national vanity; but it appears to be substantially correct.

"On the 12th of November I arrived at Akhaltzik. I reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and obtained the conviction that the ground they occupied was unapproachable. It extended from the village of Ab down to Suppliss, and this position was further strengthened by many breast-works and batteries. The condition of the town and district of Akhaltzik, compelled me to act with decision, and this the more, since I had been informed that the Turks had been reinforced, and that fresh reinforcements were expected from Ardagan, Adjar, and Kars. Early on the morning of the 14th instant, I formed a column of four battalions of foot and fourteen guns, and pushed them forward against the enemy's front at Lower Suppliss. The artillerymen had been draughted from the various regiments, and the horses were taken wherever they could be got. Another column, consisting of three battalions and three light guns, was detached against the left wing of the Turkish position, on the banks of the river of Poskhoff-Tchäi. This second column was supported by nine sotnias (100 men each) of Cossacks, twelve sotnias of Teflis militia, and one detachment of noble volunteers. The engagement commenced with the fire of the artillery, which was continued on either side till thirty minutes past eleven, A.M. This obstinacy of the enemy, in the defence of the position they had taken, convinced me of the necessity of storming that position, in spite of its natural advantages and fortifications, and although the river is of considerable depth. The Turks made a desperate defence in their entrenchments, in the houses, gardens, and, in short, in every point which offered the possibility of resistance. Exposed to the grapeshot of the whole of the enemy's artillery, and harassed by the fire from the Turkish foot, our own infantry, up to their necks in the water, crossed the river and attacked the enemy with such violence and overwhelming force, that in spite of their

obstinacy, they commenced losing ground. The first step backward was the commencement of a total defeat of the Turks. On this side, in Lower and Upper Suppliss, we captured nine pieces of artillery; and in the village of Pamatsh, we took three pieces of artillery and two light field-pieces. The streets and houses of the village were covered with the bodies of the slain. While a hand-to-hand combat was raging on the right bank of the Poskhoff-Tchai, a second victory was gained on the left bank. At ten o'clock, a large column of the enemy, horse and foot, was descried approaching the heights of the mountain Obas Tuman-siki. Six sotnias of Cossacks were sent against this force, and the firing commenced at two o'clock, P.M. A detachment of the mountain battery No. 1, consisting of guns taken from the enemy, was sent to support the Cossacks. The six sotnias of Cossacks and the noble volunteers, who joined them from Upper Suppliss, attacked and routed the enemy. Two hundred were killed, and the rest dispersed; and in spite of their attempts, they could not effect a junction with the main force. At sunset the combat was over, because there were no antagonists for us to conquer. I must confess that this success, unheard-of in its way, which was obtained by perseverance in a cannonade of four hours, and after a fire of grape and musketry, which lasted two hours, and which was consummated by a hand-to-hand engagement, could be expected only from the dauntless courage of Russian troops. All this proves that there can be no obstacles for the orthodox army, fighting at the call of the mighty Sovereign for its creed, czar, and country. Can there be obstacles for an army which is mindful of the imperial word?—"In Thee, O Lord! have we trusted; let us not for ever be confounded!" We have lost one officer and thirty-nine privates, and nine officers and 179 privates were wounded. The loss of the enemy must have been very severe, for above 1,000 Turks remained dead on the field of battle. We took 120 prisoners of foot, horse, and artillery, and among them a mullah and the servants of the pasha. They were taken to the fortress. We took also ten field-pieces and two mountain guns, two artillery parks, several flags and standards, and a large number of small flags, with stores, &c."

\* A leading journal gives the following account of the difference between the governments of England and Persia:—"A quarrel had arisen between the

This reverse of the Turks at Akhaltzik was followed by another at Baschkady-Lar, in which, however, the Russians (though victors) suffered considerable loss. According to their own account, it amounted, in killed and wounded, to about 1,500 men. They captured twenty-four pieces of artillery, and an immense quantity of ammunition, which the state of the roads did not permit them to carry away. The Russian generals and colonels marched twenty yards in advance of the columns, to give an example to their soldiers. Amongst the men, Georgians and Russians vied with each other in deeds of daring. Great numbers of horses fell dead from fatigue, both during and after the battle; and the slaughter was so great, that the advancing troops were compelled to jump over heaps of dead bodies. The Turks fought with desperate bravery, and the fire of their artillery was remarkably correct; but the Russians better understood the ground, and their men (seasoned in the wars of the Caucasus against the Circassians) showed a vigour and resolution that carried them through every difficulty. After the battle, one of the Russian generals was heard to say:—"We may thank Schamyl for this triumph; but for him we should not possess such magnificent troops."

At this period, the Eastern question was rendered still more perplexed and complicated by a report that the Persian government had declared in favour of Russia against Turkey. This country (once so famous for the prowess of its population) has sunk into comparative helplessness; and it was probably influenced by the solicitations or intimidations of Russia. Such a policy, on the part of Persia, would be perfectly suicidal, as Russia has always been its deadliest enemy. It was even rumoured that, at the instigation of Russia, Nusser-ed-Din (the Shah of Persia) had declared war, not only against Turkey, but against England also. Persia was said to have applied for a Russian general for 30,000 Persian troops, who were to attack the Turks in Armenia; and diplomatic relations between Turkey and Persia, and between England and Persia, were suspended. The misunderstanding between the two latter countries did not, however, arise out of the Eastern war.\* Serious

British *chargé d'affaires* at Teheran and the Persian court, with reference to the affairs of one Hadji Abdul Kerim, a native of Candahar, protected by



results might have followed ; but ultimately the Persian government offered explanations which led to the restoration of pacific connexions. The reader may form an estimate of the folly of the shah in provoking

the anger of the allied powers, when we inform him that the revenue of that potentate does not amount to £2,000,000, and that the population of Persia is supposed not to exceed 8,000,000 persons.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE BATTLE OF CITATE ; THE TURKS AT KALAFAT ; DEPUTATION OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS TO THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS ; INSURRECTION OF THE GREEK SUBJECTS OF THE PORTE.

THE mind travels swifter than the flight of the eagle, or than the lightning's flash, "which hath ceased to be ere one can say it lightens." Let us, then, quit the wild mountainous regions of the Caucasus, and the Asiatic shores of that salt lake of storms, the Black Sea, and bring our thoughts back to the marshy banks of the river Danube.

Though successful at Oltenitza, the Turks had retired from the left bank of the Danube, except at the town of Kalafat, where they had erected formidable military works. Kalafat is a straggling place, rising gradually from the water's edge, and composed of scattered farm-houses, mercantile establishments, and the residences of small landed proprietors. The military works at Kalafat, which have been compared, by an eye-witness, to the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras, cannot be covered except by a much larger number of troops than the place can accommodate. To live in tents during the winter, in that bitter and variable climate, would be little better than a lingering death. An ingenious mode was therefore hit upon to provide lodgings for the soldiers. Spaces, equal in size to a long barrack-room, were dug out of the earth, and covered over

with a ridged roof. Light and ventilation were secured by garret and gable windows, and fires were kept burning to consume the earthy odour. Within these underground habitations, mats served for arras; a clear space was left in the centre for passage; on each side were the soldiers' blankets and kits; the centre supporting-beams were ranged round with muskets; and at the gables were the drums, ready at a moment's notice, to beat the alarm. These subterranean lodgings or *burdehs* have, however, been condemned as extremely unhealthy; and it has been said that more men fall ill in them than when lodged in tents, which cannot properly protect them from the inclemency of the weather.

The Russians contemplated striking a blow at Kalafat on the 13th of January (1854); and, for that purpose, they concentrated their forces in entrenchments at Citate, sometimes called Zetali. Omar Pasha was aware of this, and resolved to become the assailant. Accordingly, on the 6th, a Turkish army of 15,000 or 18,000 men, under the orders of Ismail Pasha and Ahmed Pasha, marched out of Kalafat to attack the Russians, who had fortified themselves in the village of Citate, about five

the British government. This person, who is a man of great wealth, has demands upon the Persian government which it has been the duty of the British legation to support. The Persian government, on the other hand, claimed him as its own subject, liable to all such exactions as it might please the shah to put upon him; and at length refused, with so much insolence, to grant the redress the case required, that the British *chargé d'affaires*, Mr. Tylour Thompson, was compelled to suspend diplomatic relations with the ministers of the shah. The effect of this spirited measure was prompt and effectual. Within a very short time the Persian government showed its readiness to comply with his demands, and to restore friendly relations with England. The tables were completely turned on Prince Dolgorouki,

the Russian minister; and although he threatened the Shah of Persia with the supreme displeasure of the czar, his master, and exerted every means to restore Russian influence, the British *chargé d'affaires* remained master of the field. \* \* \* Fortunately, the settlement of the dispute with England seems to have included an arrangement with the Porte; for the Turkish minister at Teheran received positive assurances from the Sudder Azim, or first minister of the shah, that no movement of troops hostile to the Ottoman empire will be made by Persia; and that the forces concentrated in the northern provinces of the kingdom are placed there solely to watch the progress of events, and to prevent internal disturbances." Persia has, however since acted in a vacillating manner.

hours' march from Kalafat. The Russian troops were not so numerous as the Turks: some accounts represent them as 10,000 strong; but their position was one of great advantage, as the Russians were distributed in all the houses of the village, which is of some extent, and surrounded by a double ditch.

When the Turks approached the village, they supposed it to be abandoned, as a profound silence reigned, and not a Russian was to be seen. Six companies of chasseurs advanced firing *en tirailleurs*, but without eliciting a response. They were about to enter, when the sudden roar of artillery announced the presence of the enemy, who forthwith made their appearance. Still the chasseurs pushed on, and close behind them came four battalions of infantry, under Ismail Pasha, with a battery of field-artillery, which opened a tremendous fire. The superiority of the Turkish artillery was immediately evident; and the Russian gunnery has been described as execrable. The Russians retired into the village, and taking shelter in and around the houses, opened a deadly fire upon the enemy. Still the Turks steadily approached; and Ismail Pasha rode into the village at the head of his troops, mounted on a white horse, and wearing a white pelisse. This costume, added to the many glittering orders that sparkled upon his breast, made him the mark for showers of bullets. But the brave often escape the fate that cowards meet; and although the Turkish general had two horses killed beneath him, he himself escaped with only a slight wound in the arm.

At first the Turks were mowed down rapidly by the fire of their opponents; but, though the greatest part of them had never before been exposed to musketry, they displayed an indomitable courage. Rushing upon the enemy in the houses, they fought with terrific energy, hand-to-hand, with sword and bayonet. The slaughter was hideous; for the Turks, stung into desperation, rushed on like madmen. Quarter was neither asked nor given: in the feverish excitement of that awful time, the Turks listened to nothing but the voice within, which urged them to take vengeance on the oppressors of their country. All who fell into their hands were slaughtered without pity. The Russians contested every wall and room with heroic courage, but were massed in heaps. Some of their officers, seeing no escape, and scorning to yield,

pulled down their caps tightly on their foreheads, and rushed with mad despair to meet their death. Streams of blood ran down from the houses into the streets; the spaces around them were covered with bodies, heaped one upon another; and, to add to the horror of that dreadful scene, a number of pigs, which had got loose in the confusion, were seen making a revolting meal upon the dead, as yet scarcely cold.

The Russians who escaped this slaughter took refuge in a redoubt at the head of the village, and from thence recommenced a deadly fire upon the Turks. The latter suffered considerably, but returned the fire so vigorously, that the Russians decided upon abandoning the entrenchments. Having done so, the Turkish cavalry endeavoured to surround them, so as to cut off their escape. The Russians, animated by the terrible energy of despair, recommenced the fight with a wild desperation, and in a vigorous *sortie* succeeded in capturing two guns; still, a brief time would doubtless have seen the extermination of the Russian force, had not the sound of the firing reached the ears of Russian troops stationed in other villages.

About noon, large black masses of troops were discerned at about six miles distance, rapidly advancing towards the scene of action. Information of this was instantly given to Ahmed Pasha, who commanded the Turkish reserve, and he, by a skilful manœuvre, placed his soldiers in such a position as to prevent the junction of the new comers with the besieged troops. The Russian reinforcements consisted of about 10,000 men, together with sixteen pieces of cannon. They directed their march towards the Kalafat road, so as to cut off the retreat of the Turks, and to place them between two fires. Achmet Pasha met this movement by making front in his rear—a dangerous position, which few troops in the world have the courage to stand firm in. The report of an enemy in the rear will frequently spread a panic through a brave and well-disciplined army. The Turks were then opposed to three times their number of Russians, and they were in a position from which there was no retreat. Defeat was utter destruction. Nothing remained for them, in case of a reverse, but to retreat upon the village and sell their lives as dearly as possible—a resolution which every man among them seemed to take, and one they would doubtless have put in practice. The Russians came on with a steady cool-



ness that would have appalled a timid enemy. The conflict began with the firing of artillery; but that of the Russians was served so badly, that its balls went whistling over the heads of the Turks, and did scarcely any mischief. The Turks, on the contrary, managed their artillery admirably—(they conduct this branch of the service with an ability and precision which would do credit to any country in Europe)\*—and their balls plunged into the Russian column, and ploughed deep furrows through the living masses. But as the men were struck down, others took their places, and the line was redressed with singular coolness. Again and again deep gaps were made, and, at length, the Russians taking advantage of a momentary slackness in the Turkish fire, closed up into a series of columns and prepared to make a charge with the bayonet, in the hope of spreading confusion and death among their enemies. They were received by a deadly storm of grape from the Turkish batteries, and mowed down like ripe wheat. At the same time an order was given for the Turkish infantry to advance. The command was responded to with the national war-cry and a sweeping fire. For a few minutes the Russians bore up; the column then wavered, turned, and fled. The Turks were exhausted by a combat that had lasted eight hours, during which time they had been standing over their ankles in mud, their ammunition was running short, and Achmet Pasha deemed it prudent to retire to the quarters at Kalafat. In the confusion of the fight, the Turks committed the error of omitting to destroy the guns of the enemy, and the Russians gained courage enough to return and carry off their artillery.

The loss on both sides is, as usual, differently reported. The Turks acknowledged their loss to be 338 killed, and 700 wounded. It was estimated that the Russians had about 1,500 killed (amongst whom were many officers), and about 2,000 wounded.† The Turkish wounded were

\* When the Prussian general, Von Wrangel, took his leave of the Emperor Nicholas at St. Petersburg, before setting off for the Ottoman capital, the czar exclaimed, "When you get to Constantinople, mind you examine the artillery well; its one of the best in Europe. We have to thank you Prussians for that. It will take hard teeth to crack that nut." The Turks were instructed in this branch of war by the Prussian lieutenant-colonel, Von Kuczkowski.

† A letter from Omar Pasha, dated Shumla, January, 17 (29th), gives a widely different estimate. We extract the following:—"The loss of the Russians, according to the most accurate accounts,

taken to Kalafat in carts, and then sent across the river to be placed in the hospitals at Widdin. The poor fellows comforted themselves, to some extent, by the sight of watches or handfuls of gold, which they had gathered on the field of battle, and now placed by their beds of pain as a solace to their sufferings. A witness of the scene said, the poor men, while being conveyed to the hospital, seemed to treat the affair very lightly, talking and laughing in the boats with so much cheerfulness, that but for their blood-stained bandages, it would have been difficult to have believed the reality of their situation.

The unfortunate people of Wallachia are said to have rejoiced at this victory, and to have looked forward to the Turks as their probable liberators. Well they might; for the Russians had been guilty of gross tyranny and violence towards them. Crowds of peasants and farmers fled from their homes and took refuge in Austria, or crossed the Danube and joined the Turks, rather than submit to the cruelties and exactions imposed upon them. In one instance, the Russian general had ordered that women and young girls should do the work the soldiers might require of them. The villagers refused obedience; and a body of Cossacks were sent amongst them to enforce it. The Cossacks were attacked by a numerous body of peasants, armed only with scythes and clubs. Upon this, the general sent troops with directions to inflict "exemplary chastisement" on the rebellious men who had dared to protect their wives and children. This exemplary chastisement amounted to nothing less than the massacre of the inhabitants of three whole villages. A few weeks before the battle, some Cossacks at a small village near Plewna, cut off the heads of three Wallachians and violated several women. Some of the Wallachian militia were incorporated with the Russian troops, but a mutual dislike existed between them. One Wallachian captain refused to

amounted to 3,000 dead, including three colonels, three chiefs of battalions, and at least sixty officers. More than 200 chariots, each carrying four or five wounded, were sent to Krajova and Slatina, besides the wounded soldiers who were on foot. Among the wounded is General Orloff, two colonels, and seven chiefs of battalions. Another colonel is missing. Three waggons, laden with munitions and a quantity of baggage, 500 muskets, sixty officers' swords, and 500 horses, most of them wounded, form the trophies of the day. Several crosses of St. George now ornament the breasts of our soldiers. General Orloff has since died of his wounds."

march against the Turks; and knowing the consequences of his conduct, sought a dreadful refuge from the severity of the military tyranny of Russia by blowing out his brains. The Turkish soldiers generally enjoy a good character for honesty and decent behaviour; but this reputation is sometimes tarnished by the brutality of individuals. In spite of the strictest orders to the contrary, the revolting custom of cutting off the noses and ears of their enemies, is still practised by some of the Albanian and Arnaut irregular troops. After the battle of Citate, one savage wretch had made a complete necklace of these hideous trophies. It is some satisfaction to know, that his barbarous triumph was mitigated by a severe application of the bastinado.

On the 7th, the conflict was resumed between the Turks and the Russians; and again upon the 8th, when the latter were completely defeated and driven back upon Krajova. We presume that these subsequent affairs were but skirmishes, as no details have reached us. The victory at Citate created so much joy and confidence among the Ottoman troops, that they expressed a belief that one Turk was a match for three Russians. The sultan sent from Constantinople some sabres with golden hilts, and other honourable decorations, for several of the most distinguished officers. On the other hand, General Aurep, the Russian officer who commanded at Citate, though severely wounded during the battle, was sent in disgrace to the rear-guard of the Russian army in the Caucasus, and General Liprandi was appointed to the command of the Russian army in Lower Wallachia. This circumstance looks like an admission of defeat on the part of the emperor.

It was supposed that the Russians would soon attempt to wash off the disgrace they had sustained by another effort to advance upon Kalafat. The Turkish garrison there, consisting of about 20,000 men, was increased by ten battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and twelve pieces of artillery. These reinforcements raised the army at Kalafat to 30,000 men, and further additions were expected. Some idea may be formed of the formidable character of the fortifications at Kalafat, when we mention that they, together with those at Widdin, contain 250 pieces of cannon of the heaviest calibre. The Turkish redoubts are partly raised on two high hills in the plain of Kalafat, about a mile distant from each other. From these

hills all the neighbouring country is commanded in such a way that no approach to the Danube can be made. It was reported that the Russian troops intended to attack Kalafat on the 19th of January, being the anniversary (according to their calendar) of the festival of St. John the Baptist. While under the influence of religious excitement they were to be led against the Turks beneath the shadow of the cross; for that sacred symbol was to be carried before them.

In the meantime, several skirmishes took place near Matschin, a small Turkish fortress opposite Brailow, on account of General Lüders, who had taken up his quarters at the latter place, attempting to establish himself on the Turkish side of the Danube. The Russians suffered considerably, and a steamer of theirs was almost destroyed. On the 12th of the month, the Turks again became the attacking party, and made an attempt to cross over to the left bank of the Danube, by Karalash; but, after a short engagement, they were repulsed by General Bogushewski, at the head of 2,000 men. Another skirmish took place for the possession of an island which eventually remained in the hands of the Turks. On the 18th, the Turks again crossed the river at Nicopoli, Sistow, Rustchuk, Silistria, Hirsova, and Matschin, and after giving considerable annoyance to the Russians, returned again to the right bank. The object of the Russian troops in making excursions across the river, was to divide the Turks and make it a safer thing to attack them at Kalafat; that of the Turks, was to keep their foes in continual uneasiness and alarm. It was said, that orders had arrived from St. Petersburg that Kalafat was to be taken immediately, cost what it might. A private letter states that General Gortschakoff, while conversing with a person attached to the Austrian embassy, who had remarked that Ismail Pasha was strongly intrenched at Kalafat, and that he had the advantage of position, replied—"We have received the most imperative orders to drive the Turks out of Kalafat. I know that it must cost me a number of men; but I will succeed at any price." "It is a difficult undertaking," responded the other, "for although you wish to capture Kalafat at any price, the Turks will preserve it at any price."

It was truly a difficult task, as it was calculated that the capture of Kalafat could not be effected without sacrificing the lives of 10,000 Russians. Prodigious as the gene-



erals of that country usually are of the blood of their soldiers when the commands of the czar are concerned, yet Gortschakoff evidently shrunk from such a frightful carnage. If 10,000 men were to be sacrificed every time the Turks were to be driven from a strong position, even the power of Russia would fall prostrate before the gigantic work of aggression it had undertaken. But Russia is prudent: the attack which was to have taken place on the 13th of January, was deferred to the 19th, in consequence of the battle at Citate; then until the 23rd or 24th; and then it was rumoured that nothing was to be done against Kalafat until reinforcements had arrived, because, from sickness, and the bullets and sabres of the Turks, the army of occupation had lost 35,000 men since it had crossed the Pruth in July, 1853. The total number of Russians that had crossed the Pruth into the Danubian provinces up to the 1st of January, 1854, was 129,188: so that deducting 35,000, they had still about 94,000; yet the brave Russian general resolved to wait for reinforcements; and the Russian government, it was said, intended to raise the army in the border provinces to 200,000 men. At the latter end of January, reinforcements did arrive, and then the *prudent* Russian generals were of opinion that Kalafat could hardly be taken without trenches, parallels, &c.; and the taking of this important position was postponed indefinitely. About the end of March, it was supposed that the Emperor Nicholas himself would make his appearance at the seat of war, and then, of course, the fortifications of Kalafat would melt like snow before the advancing spring.

Early in 1854, a singular episode in the history of the war occurred. This was a visit of three English Quakers to the Emperor Nicholas at St. Petersburg, in order to appeal to him, as a Christian prince, to avert the horrors of an impending European war. These gentlemen—Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham; Robert Charleton, of Bristol; and Henry Pease, of Darlington—left London on the 20th of January, as a deputation of the Society of Friends. Proceeding by way of Berlin, Königsberg, and Riga, they arrived at St. Petersburg on the 2nd of February. These sincere if simple-minded men, undertaking their mission upon religious grounds, and wholly irrespective of political considerations, thought it best not to communicate, before leaving England,

either with the Russian ambassador in London or with any member of the British government. They were going to plead with the czar on behalf of humanity—to urge him, in the name and for the cause of the Divine Teacher of Galilee, to sheathe the swords which might otherwise make thousands of women widows, and bereaved mourners throughout three-quarters of the whole world. For the same reason, on arriving at St. Petersburg, they made a direct application to Count Nesselrode, without the intervention of Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador. Their motives, however, were subsequently stated, in personal interviews, both to the government at home and to its representative in Russia. Much has been said in ridicule of these earnest Quaker gentlemen and their uncourtly and unworldly proceeding. What, it was urged, could they hope to do? Did they expect the ambitious czar would abandon his great project at the solicitations of three private and obscure men? We do not suppose they expected anything of the kind; and we think their manly, unconventional behaviour, deserves a word of praise rather than of censure. It is well that the deeds of princes should sometimes be tested by the pure principles of eternal truth; that the disturbers of the poor world's peace should, even while living, be weighed in the iron balance of the obscure masses of the nations; that the truths of that religion which they use as a cloak for their unholy deeds, should be quoted against them; and that humble men should be bold enough to rise and say—"In the name of the Redeemer you profess to worship, why doest thou this great sin in the eyes of God and man?" Truly we think this visit of the three Quakers to the czar a silent index of the progress of the world—an index which points, with a mute but significant eloquence, to the time when the voice of the peoples of the world shall be regarded in the palaces of their princes; and when sovereigns shall bend from their thrones to listen to the earnest words of wholesome truth, even from the lips of the humble.

On arriving at St. Petersburg, our Quaker adventurers obtained an introduction to a gentleman who had lived in Russia for forty years, and who, it was thought, would be of service to them in their delicate mission. As Count Nesselrode, the chancellor of the empire, was believed from the first to have objected to the war, the gentleman recom-

mended the deputation to address a note to him, requesting an interview. The letter was forwarded; and the count almost immediately responded by sending a messenger who could speak good English (apparently one of his private secretaries), and fixing an early hour for receiving his English visitors. He added, that he was instructed to offer them any services in his power. On the 5th of February, Messrs. Sturge, Charleton, and Pease were visited by the English consul, who, though he had but little hope of their success, expressed his belief that the emperor would receive them. He said that the trade of Russia, as far as England was concerned, was greatly paralysed by what had taken place; and that this circumstance being known to the emperor, it was hoped would have its influence with him on the side of peace.

The English consul was correct in his opinion that the emperor would receive the deputation in the name of peace. Through the prompt courtesy of Count Nesselrode, an interview was arranged to take place at the Winter Palace on the 10th of February, for the presentation of the address. At the appointed time the Friends were admitted to the presence of the emperor, and remained with him for nearly half-an-hour. He received them very graciously, and expressed himself much pleased with the object of their visit and the motives which induced them to make so long a journey. They then presented the following really interesting and admirable address:—

“To Nicholas, Emperor of all the Russias.—May it please the Emperor,—We, the undersigned members of a meeting representing the religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers in Great Britain, venture to approach the imperial presence, under a deep conviction of religious duty, and in the constraining love of Christ our Saviour.

“We are, moreover, encouraged so to do by the many proofs of condescension and Christian kindness manifested by thy late illustrious brother, the Emperor Alexander, as well as by thy honoured mother, to some of our brethren in religious profession.

“It is well known that apart from all political considerations, we have, as a Christian church, uniformly upheld a testimony against all war, on the simple ground that it is utterly condemned by the precepts of Christianity, as well as altogether incompatible with the spirit of its Divine Founder, who is emphatically styled the ‘Prince of Peace.’ This conviction we have repeatedly pressed upon our own rulers; and

often, in the language of bold, but respectful remonstrance, have we urged upon them the maintenance of peace as the true policy, as well as manifest duty of a Christian government.

“And now, O great prince, permit us to express the sorrow which fills our hearts as Christians and as men, in contemplating the probability of war in any portion of the continent of Europe. Deeply to be deplored would it be were that peace (which, to a large extent has happily prevailed for so many years) exchanged for the unspeakable horrors of war, with all its attendant moral and physical suffering.

“It is not our business, nor do we presume to offer any opinion upon the questions now at issue between the imperial government of Russia and that of any other country; but, estimating the exalted position in which Divine Providence has placed thee, and the solemn responsibilities devolving upon thee, not only as an earthly potentate, but also as a believer in that gospel which proclaims ‘peace on earth and good will toward men;’ we implore Him, by whom ‘Kings reign and princes decree justice,’ so to influence thy heart, and to direct thy counsels, at this momentous crisis, that thou mayest practically exhibit to the nations, and even to those who do not profess the ‘like precious faith,’ the efficacy of the gospel of Christ, and the universal application of his command, ‘Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven.’

“The more fully the Christian is persuaded of the justice of his own cause, the greater his magnanimity in the exercise of forbearance. May the Lord make thee the honoured instrument of exemplifying this true nobility, thereby securing to thyself and to thy vast dominions that true glory and those rich blessings which could never result from the most successful appeal to arms.

“Thus, O mighty prince, may the miseries and devastations of war be averted; and in that solemn day, when ‘every one of us shall give account of himself to God,’ may the benediction of the Redeemer apply to thee;—‘Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God;’ and mayest thou be permitted, through a Saviour’s love, to exchange an earthly for a heavenly crown, ‘a crown of glory which fadeth not away.’

“London, 11th of 1st month, 1854.”

[Here follow the signatures.]

Nicholas listened with the greatest attention while the address was being read; and the deputation were induced to hope, from his tone and manner, that he was not



insensible to the appeal. At the conclusion, he said he wished to offer some explanation of his views as to the causes of the present unhappy differences. His observations, in the course of the conversation which followed, were, as nearly as could be gathered, as follows :—

“ We received the blessings of Christianity from the Greek empire; and this has established and maintained ever since a link of connexion, both moral and religious, between Russia and that power. The ties that have thus united the two countries have subsisted for 900 years, and were not severed by the conquest of Russia by the Tartars; and when, at a later period, our country succeeded in shaking off that yoke, and the Greek empire, in its turn, fell under the sway of the Turks, we still continued to take a lively interest in the welfare of our co-religionists there; and when Russia became powerful enough to resist the Turks, and to dictate the terms of peace, we paid particular attention to the well-being of the Greek church, and procured the insertion in successive treaties of most important articles in her favour. I have myself acted as my predecessors had done, and the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, was as explicit as the former ones in this respect. Turkey, on her part, recognised this right of religious interference, and fulfilled her engagements until within the last year or two, when for the first time, she gave me reason to complain. I will not now advert to the parties who were her principal instigators on that occasion. Suffice it to say that it became my duty to interfere, and to claim from Turkey the fulfilment of her engagements. My representations were pressing but friendly, and I have every reason to believe that matters would soon have been settled if Turkey had not been induced by other parties to believe that I had ulterior objects in view,—that I was aiming at conquest, aggrandisement, and the ruin of Turkey. I have solemnly disclaimed, and do now as solemnly disclaim every such motive. . . . I do not desire war; I abhor it as sincerely as you do; and am ready to forget the past, if only the opportunity be afforded me. . . . I have great esteem for your country, and a sincere affection for your queen, whom I admire, not only as a sovereign, but as a lady, a wife, and a mother. I have placed full confidence in her, and have acted towards her in a frank and friendly spirit. I felt it my duty to call her attention to future dangers, which I considered sooner or later likely to arise in the East, in consequence of the existing state of things. What, on my part, was prudent foresight, has been unfairly construed in your country into a designing policy and an ambitious desire of conquest. This has deeply wounded my feelings and afflicted my heart. Personal insults and

invectives I regard with indifference. It is beneath my dignity to notice them; and I am ready to forgive all that is personal to me, and to hold out my hand to my enemies in the true Christian spirit. I cannot understand what cause of complaint your nation has against Russia. I am anxious to avoid war by all possible means. I will not attack, and shall only act in self-defence. I cannot be indifferent to what concerns the honour of my country. I have a duty to perform as a sovereign. As a Christian I am ready to comply with the precepts of religion. On the present occasion my great duty is to attend to the interests and honour of my country.”

In reply to the emperor, the deputation observed that their mission was not of a political character, but merely intended to convey to his majesty the sentiments of their own society, as a religious body. They did not, therefore, feel it to be their place to enter into any of the questions involved in the present dispute; but, with the emperor's permission, they would be glad to call his attention specially to a few points. They, and many other Englishmen, had incurred the displeasure of the supporters of the present military system, by advocating the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. They also remarked, that as while Mohammedanism avowedly justifies the employment of the sword in propagating its doctrines, Christianity is emphatically a religion of peace, there appeared, therefore, a peculiar propriety in a Christian emperor's exercising forbearance and forgiveness. They concluded by observing, that in the event of a European war, among the thousands who would be its victims, those who were the principal causes of it would, probably, not be the greatest sufferers; but that the heaviest calamities would fall upon innocent men, and their wives and children.

The deputation were then about to retire, but the emperor said they should not leave without being introduced to the empress. That lady, accompanied by the grand-duchess Olga, then entered the room, and conversed with Mr. Sturge and his friends in a very agreeable manner. On taking their leave, Nicholas shook each of his visitors heartily by the hand, and desired them to remain some days in St. Petersburg. They were afterwards informed, through Baron Nicolay, that the emperor desired to transmit to the Society of Friends a written reply to their address. A reply in the French language was accordingly for-

warded to them. It is unnecessary to insert it here, as it is scarcely more than a reiteration of the sentiments expressed by the emperor in the observations he addressed to the deputation, after listening to their expostulation. Although it was the wish of the Friends to be as quiet as possible during their stay in St. Petersburg, yet their presence created a considerable degree of interest among the inhabitants. So much so, that they were not unfrequently followed in the streets by crowds of persons, who seemed to take a favourable interest in the object of their mission.

We must now call attention to another episode of the war of a very different character—an episode which threatened to add considerably to the perplexities of the already intricate Oriental question. We allude to the insurrections of the sultan's Greek and other Christian subjects in that portion of the Ottoman territory which joined the kingdom of Greece. Undoubtedly the Turks had behaved in an extremely oppressive manner to the Greeks; so much so, as to elicit the interference of the European powers in 1827—an interference which led to the destruction of the Turkish navy at the battle of Navarino.

For nearly four centuries the Greeks, and other Christian subjects of the Ottoman, were in a state not widely different from that of slavery. The evidence of a Christian was not admitted at a Turkish tribunal of justice: his right of property was limited; his personal security treated contemptuously; and he was so mistrusted by the government as not to be allowed to bear arms in its service. This state of things lasted until the close of the first quarter of the present century, when the insurrection of the Greeks, supported by England, France, and Russia, wrung from Turkey a partial independence. The Porte has, since that time, entered on a course of legislative and social reforms which are bringing about the effect so earnestly desired.

It was natural that the Greeks should rise against their oppressors when the latter were visited with adversity and danger; and

that they should hail the then probable fall of Turkey as the roseate dawning of Greek independence and the restoration of the Greek empire. It was also difficult for Englishmen to avoid sympathising with a people struggling for liberty;—difficult also to forget that centuries ago, in the days of Pericles, that Athens was a proud and glorious city—the home of all that was brilliant and elegant in intellect and art; and that her people were the rulers of the world. It was natural for the Greeks to have acted as they had done; but they had chosen an unhappy time for the assertion of their independence—a time when the sympathies of most of the great European powers must of necessity be against them. By rising against Turkey, she, in effect, united herself with Russia against the Ottoman and the allied Western powers. If Greece had been successful, she would have helped to trample under foot the European balance of power, and to place the despotic genius of Russia triumphant on the ruins of order and freedom. Having done this, she would merely have changed her master, and become a dependency of Russia instead of a dependency of Turkey.

Though England would not ally herself with a Mohammedan power against a Christian one, yet it was evident the Greek insurrection must be repressed, or Russia would be materially assisted in her attack on the territory of the Ottoman, and supported in her resistance of the propositions of France and England. It was difficult for the respective governments of these states to satisfy the Greeks and other Christian subjects of the Porte, that although supporting the sovereignty of the sultan, they were not the less anxious to obtain for them a complete reform of their condition. A spirit of remarkable liberality has indeed appeared in the conduct both of the sultan Abdul-Medjid, and his father Mahmoud; still, we think it would be well to have followed out the suggestion of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and made the assistance given to Turkey conditional upon the extension of ample rights to his Christian subjects.\*

Signs of coming insurrection were visible

\* The English government has not lost sight of the interesting subject of religious liberty in the East. Notwithstanding the liberality of Sultan Abdul-Medjid, many of the grievances arising from Mussulman intolerance are still in force, and doubtless are extremely difficult to be remedied. This circumstance induced the foreign minister, on the 24th of June, 1853, to impress upon the sultan the importance of removing all civil distinctions between his

Christian and Mohammedan subjects. To this recommendation, Lord Clarendon added the following important declaration:—"It is the deliberate opinion of her majesty's government, that the only real security for the continued existence of Turkey as an independent power, is to be sought by enlisting the feelings of its Christian subjects in its preservation; that although Turkey may get over her present difficulties by the aid of her allies, she must not reckon on



in Greece soon after the commencement of the dispute between Russia and Turkey. The agents of the czar were at work, persuading the Greeks that Russia was their friend and natural protectress, and that the hour had arrived for the recovery of their ancient freedom. During the autumn of 1853, the following inflammatory address was circulated among the Greeks, with the object of causing them to rise against the Mussulmans:—

“To the enslaved Greeks of Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, and Epirus, Asia Minor and its islands, Candia, and all the islands of the Archipelago:—

“Brethren and Countrymen,—To arms, to arms! For four centuries you have been groaning beneath the Turkish yoke. The happy hour has come. Rise, and time lose not;—let the Crescent disappear before the Cross. Your cause is sacred, and the Almighty will help you. Think of the glory of your noble ancestors, and blush for your degradation. Fear not the bloodthirsty hounds of the sultan nor his renegade friends; they are ferocious, yet craven hordes, which you will soon vanquish and disperse. Rise, fight! and do not allow your sword one moment's rest until you have plunged it into the heart of the last of the Moslems. Down with the barbarians!—the plunderers of your vaulted and classic country—the murderers of your brethren, of Scios and Kidonies! *Your northern brethren in faith are shedding their blood on the banks of the Danube for your own cause. Be grateful to them and to their most noble master;* but do not let them accomplish alone that which it is your duty to perform. Soon that mighty river will witness the total destruction of the wild legions of the Turk. Let your war-cry be religious independence, and you will assuredly overcome the savage Moslems. Do not place any trust in the Franks for your freedom; they are your bitterest foes and the friends of your oppressors. Remember that the English sold Parga to the Turks. Bear in mind also that English cannon threatened to burn the houses of your fellow-

external aid as a permanent resource: but that she must create for herself a surer defence in the affections of the most intelligent, active, and enterprising class of her subjects; and that it is impossible to suppose that any true sympathy for their rulers will be felt by the Christians, so long as they are made to experience in all their daily transactions the inferiority of their position as compared with that of their Mussulman fellow-subjects—so long as they are aware that they will seek in vain for justice for wrongs done either to their persons or their properties, because they are deemed a degraded race, unworthy to be put in comparison with the followers of Mohammed. Your excellency will plainly and authoritatively state to the Porte, that this state of

countrymen of liberated Greece in behalf of the despicable Jew Pacifico. The Latin Frenchmen are worse than the English. Despise them all—aim well at the enemy. God is with you, and you will soon be free!

“Athens, Nov. 10.

A. O. D.”

At length, on the 28th of January, 1854, a regularly-organised conspiracy was discovered in Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia. Large sums of money had been raised by the wealthy Greeks in different parts of the world; and the intended insurrection was arranged by men of ability and energy, prepared to die, if necessary, in the cause of their country. There is very little doubt that a general insurrection was aimed at, like that which took place when the war of liberation commenced. In many parts, revolutionary committees, or their agents, went from village to village, urging the inhabitants to rise against the Turks, and distributing guns among those who expressed their willingness to join the insurgents. Great numbers of officers, students, and others, left Athens, and rushed eagerly to the gatherings in the mountains to join the revolt; and early in February the insurrectionary army was reported to number 8,000 men. They were under the command of Spiridion Karakaisis, a Greek lieutenant, who received orders from the government of his native country to return to Athens immediately, under pain of being struck out of the army-list; but the Greek government was unable to restrain the revolutionary ardour of the people, and its command was disregarded. The Turkish garrison at Arta was thrice besieged by a detachment of the insurgents. Janina shared a similar fate. An encounter occurred in the port of Arta between the Turkish guardship and a Greek cutter, in which the former was destroyed; and in Asia Minor collisions between the Turks and Greek were occurring almost daily. In Epirus, the insur-

things cannot be longer tolerated by the Christian powers. The Porte must decide between the sacrifice of an erroneous religious principle and the loss of the sympathy and support of its allies. You will point out the immense importance of the election which it has to make; and her majesty's government conceive that very little reflection will suffice to satisfy the Turkish ministers that the Porte can no longer reckon upon its Mussulman subjects alone as a safeguard against external danger; and that without the hearty assistance of its Christian dependents, and the powerful sympathy and support of its Christian allies, the Turkish empire must soon cease to exist.” It is the Turkish people, rather than the government, that are the opponents of religious equality.

gents, adding religious fanaticism to patriotic ardour, pulled down all the crescents from the mosques, and performed Christian service in them. From the following documents, issued from a village near to Arta, and consisting of an oath and proclamation, the state of feeling among the Greek population may be inferred:—

“PROCLAMATION.

“We, the undersigned, inhabitants and primates (elders) of Radobitsi, in the province of Arta, sighing under the pressure of the exorbitant taxation which has been imposed on us by Ottoman conquerors, who are not only incapable of civilisation, but besides violate the chastity of our maidens, do renew the struggle of 1821, and swear by the name of the Almighty and by our sacred fatherland, in no case and under no plea to lay down our arms until we have obtained our liberty.

“Now, at the commencement of the struggle, we hope to rouse the sympathy of our brethren, of the free Greeks, and of all those groaning under the Ottoman yoke, so that they may take up arms to renew the holy war of 1821, and fight for faith, fatherland, and our inalienable rights.

“The war is holy and just, and no one who considers the weight of our burden and the rights of nations will utter a word in defence of our barbarous oppressors, or advocate the cause of the Crescent, which is planted on the summit of our sacred church.

“Up then, brethren!—rush to battle, throw off the hated yoke of our tyrants, and with us loudly proclaim to God and the world that we do battle for our fatherland, and that the Most High is our shield of defence.

“Johann Cosovakis; Demeter Kokas; Costi Kosma; Bas Nakos; Ntulas Basos; Colios Mavromati; K. C. Stuma, Demeter Scaltriojanni; Georg Calzigami; C. Merikas; K. Katzilas; Konst; Zegarides.”

“THE OATH.

“I swear by the Holy Gospels, by the Holy Trinity, and by Him crucified, that I take up arms which shall not be cast aside until our oppressors are driven from the homes of our fathers, and my fatherland is free. I also swear by an Almighty God to be faithful to my flag, and if necessary, to shed the last drop of my blood in defence of my comrades.”

It is asserted, that the Turkish police had intercepted a letter from some of the Greek revolutionists, addressed to General Gortschakoff, desiring him to cross the Danube at once, as the insurrection in Bulgaria was on the point of breaking out. King Otho was then believed, not only to be altogether unconnected with the untimely outbreak of

his people, but to have viewed it with feelings of considerable alarm. Subsequent events have shown that he, his queen, and court, used what influence they possessed to promote the designs of Russia. Otho gave at first secret, and finally open encouragement to the intended revolution. The designs of the czar were, of course, materially promoted by the revolt, and Russian agents had been busily employed in the disturbed districts. Mr. Layard, the accomplished traveller and explorer of the remains of ancient Nineveh, stated, in the House of Commons, that “he could speak, almost from personal experience, of the way in which the affair had progressed. Last year (1853), there was scarcely a convent inhabited by a single priest on Pelion or Olympus, in which were not to be seen pieces of plate and presents from the Emperor of Russia.”

Though the governments of both England and France could not avoid feeling some sympathy for the Greek patriots and the Christians under Turkish rule, yet they could not permit them to pursue a career calculated to injure the cause of Ottoman independence, and fling the Greeks themselves into the arms of Russia. The French minister, therefore, addressed a note, couched in energetic and decided language, to the government of King Otho, which was also informed by the British minister that England would interfere, if necessary, to restore order in the disturbed districts. It has been justly observed, that the true interests of the Christian subjects of the Porte, was to place their cause wholly in the hands of the Western powers, who were in a position to require for them what they could not obtain or demand for themselves.

The representatives at Athens of the four great powers of Europe protested against any invasion by the free Greeks of the rights of the sultan, and Sir Henry Ward, lord high commissioner of the Ionian Islands, issued a circular to the English functionaries, urging them not to allow anything of a nature to compromise the good faith of England with the Sublime Porte. “Your duty, sir,” said the circular, “is to convince the authorities of your island, that the movement which has so unfortunately commenced in Greece is certainly calculated to remove all hope of amelioration in the condition of the Greek population of Turkey, by impelling them into a barbarous struggle of a nature to endanger themselves, their



families, and their property, without the slightest chance of success; since no one can imagine that the treaties and declarations of the great cabinets of Europe can depend on committees at Athens, the acts of which are assuredly not admitted by any established government."

The Turkish government took active steps to suppress the rising storm of revolution. Hafiz Pasha, the vizier, proclaimed drum-head law in the eastern districts of Albania: many persons were arrested; and every Greek who joined the insurrection was threatened with death. The Turkish government dispatched a corps of 5,000 troops, which, with the troops previously at the disposal of the governors of Thessaly and Epirus, made an effective strength of 8,000 men. This, it was supposed, would be sufficient to put down the revolt, and cause the authority of the sultan to be respected. The Porte also required, from the Greek minister at Constantinople, a formal disavowal of all participation in, or connivance with, the Greek insurrection. Redschid Pasha even declared that if, within a given time, authentic proofs were not forthcoming that the Greek government had nothing whatever to do with the insurrection, or of its not having done all in its power to prevent it, the Greek minister should receive his passports. The insurrection did not meet with the expected success: out of a province containing a Christian population of 400,000 persons, only 8,000 rose in arms; and it is said, that not more than 3,000 of them were Greeks. The liberal conduct of the sultan probably had a considerable influence in bringing about this result. He promised to accede to the demands of the four powers relative to the emancipation of his Christian subjects, and also to cause the excesses and oppressions of the Turkish officials and soldiers to be duly restrained. Such had been the violent conduct of the latter, that the progress of the insurrection was largely attributed to the soldiers who were sent to put it down. Another circumstance that cooled the enthusiasm of the Greeks, was

the knowledge that England and France were ready to interfere for the preservation of tranquillity. Indeed, an Anglo-French squadron in the Adriatic, had intercepted a supply of arms and ammunition intended for the Albanian insurgents. As the Greeks in arms desired to induce the Servians to join the insurrection, Austria became interested in the struggle, and declared that she would not permit of any revolutionary movement.

Still the insurrection of the Greek subjects of the Porte was not destined to die out without alarming circumstances. On the 9th of March, the Porte addressed a note to the British and French ambassadors, complaining of the connivance of the Greek court in the revolt; and on the 21st, a Turkish, a British, and a French vessel of war entered the Piræus, for the purpose of conveying Ali Pasha on a special mission to Athens, to present the demands of the Porte to the Greek government. These demands were to the effect that all Greek officers who had taken up arms against the Turks should be recalled to their own country; that all revolutionary committees in Greece should be suppressed; that the Greek press should not be permitted to write against Turkey; that certain Greek professors should be dismissed from the university; and that some rioters, who had been liberated from prison by the patriotic party, should be punished. After a cabinet council, at which King Otho presided, had been held by the Greek government, a very curt and independent answer was returned. This not being satisfactory, Nessel Bey, the Turkish *chargé d'affaires* at Athens, demanded his passport, and returned to Constantinople. General Metaxas, the Greek ambassador at the city of the sultan, followed his example, and diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey were broken off.

The following extract from a letter dated March 28th, from Syra, gives a lively picture, at this period, of the feelings of the population of the Greek islands:—"The nervous agitation which is pervading alike

\* Some of our readers may not be aware that the kingdom of Greece is divided into three parts. Hellas, or that portion which adjoins the Turkish dominions; the Morca, known anciently as the Peloponnesus, and of numerous islands. Of these Syra is the seat of a Greek archbishopric. In ancient times the Greeks were first governed by kings, and there was as many monarchs as there were cities. As the monarchical power declined, the love of liberty cherished by the people induced them to adopt a

republican form of government. In the height of their power and glory they several times defeated the Persians, then regarded as the mightiest people on the earth. The Greek cities afterwards turned their arms against each other. Greece then sunk from its glorious altitude, submitted to the yoke of Alexander and his successors, and at length became a Roman province. When, in 1451, Sultan Mohammed II. took Constantinople, and the ancient eastern empire was overturned, Greece fell beneath the

all classes, takes a different expression in each of them. Thus, while the wealthy merchants, with whom caution has become a prominent feature of character, betrays it only by his anxious looks and by the suspicious manner in which he imparts his apocryphal information to the stranger, the mass of the people rather glory in the display of what they call patriotism. All the streets are full of groups, discussing the actual state of affairs, indulging in the wildest schemes and hopes, and using their loud voices as proofs of their assertions. The coffee-houses and gin-shops resound in the evening with the 'Parisienne' and the 'Marseillaise,' both of which have been quite naturalised in Greece, and become national melodies, with suitable words adapted to them. Outside of the town, some forty or fifty patriots are drilling, under the superintendence of a serjeant; while in the town, the soldiers, as well as the sailors of the two men-of-war cutters (which would be more appropriately called *boys-of-war*) are treated with marked regard. Even the rising generation seems to be roused. The excitement has taken, with them, a purely artistic turn, and shows itself in sundry chalk portraits of the Emperor Nicholas on the walls.

"If one analyzes this excitement, the chief ingredient is certainly an inveterate and implacable hatred against the Turks; and the other—scarcely less powerful—the wish of aggrandisement for individuals, as well as for the Greek nation. Their chief argument is always, that Greece cannot exist as she is; and that it is preferable not to exist at all, than in such an humble way. This idea, which reminds one involuntarily of the dog letting the bone fall from the bridge to catch the shadow of it, which appeared larger, is firmly seated here in every Greek mind. The sympathy for their coreligionists in Albania and Thessaly is scarcely used as a pretext; they consider the whole as purely a Greek affair. They speak, indeed, in a general way of grievances and oppressions sometimes; but, if you ask in what they consist, almost every one will say the same—they have no liberty of the press. How this can be a grievance to the population of Albania and Thessaly, among whom there is scarcely anybody who can sway of the Turks. Thus it remained until the war of independence. In August, 1832, Greece again became a kingdom. The government was at first an almost absolute monarchy: the revolution of September, 1843, introduced a constitution; and in March, 1844, a government, on the basis of those of France

read, is rather difficult to understand. It is in vain to tell them that they possess already more land than they can cultivate; and that the population of Greece is on the decrease, rather than on the increase. The truth is, that the state of the whole population is very unsatisfactory. Through several successive years the crops have been insufficient; and, in consequence of this, and the heavy taxation which the expenses of the government and court require, the whole country, with the exception of some of the maritime towns, is in a state of misery. It is natural that, under such circumstances, most people should wish for a change, and be ready for every disturbance in which they have nothing to lose, and may win something. The lower classes, who are eager to join the insurgents, hope for booty; the upper classes for office and pay; which an aggrandisement of territory would facilitate. It would be a redeeming point in this headlong movement, if it was an offspring of a feeling of repressed energy, and if they intended to obtain the realisation of their vague hopes by their own strength. But such is not the case: their eyes are turned towards Russia. If Russia has hitherto failed in rousing the Slavonic population of European Turkey, she certainly has been successful in Greece. Not that much exertion was wanted; for all calculations, or rather expectations of Greek patriots, were always based on Russia: but one can perceive distinct traces of recent activity in the positiveness with which people look for Russian help. Of course, the Greek church is not behind in this movement. You cannot visit a Greek church without seeing signs of the czar's munificence, which the *papas* will not fail to point out to you. He will also show you divers passages from their liturgy: such as 'A great smoke arose from the north,' &c.; upon which he will comment in connexion with the present events. Besides Russia, they also count on Austria. It is useless to point out that Austria has declared for the Western powers: a sly wink is all you get as an answer."

At this point we must, for a time, leave the struggle of the Greek subjects of the sultan, to bring forward other and contemporaneous events.

and England, was proclaimed. Our readers are aware that the insurrection is in those parts of the sultan's dominions which lie next to the kingdom of Greece, and in ancient times formed part of it—namely, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Albania. The once illustrious Macedonia is now a Turkish province.



## CHAPTER VII.

THE FINAL ULTIMATUM OF THE ALLIED POWERS TO THE CZAR; ENGLAND PREPARES FOR WAR; DEPARTURE OF THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE BALTIC FLEET; THE CHALLENGE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG JOURNAL, AND PRODUCTION OF THE SECRET CORRESPONDENCE.

PREPARATIONS for the inevitable war had for some time been making both in England and France; still, at the eleventh hour the allied powers resolved to give the Emperor of Russia one last chance of retracing his ambitious steps, and restoring peace to Europe. Late in February, an ultimatum—a *final* ultimatum—was dispatched to St. Petersburg, requiring that Russia should pledge herself, within six days, to evacuate the principalities before the end of April. The governments of France and England both felt that they could not permit the wrongful occupation of the territories of Turkey by Russia to be continued, and they signified that they should consider the czar's not withdrawing his troops from the principalities as equivalent to a declaration of war. Forbearance has its boundaries; and, in this case, those boundaries had been fully reached. At the time it was sent, this final ultimatum was felt to be a mere form; and, before the answer to it was received, two powerful fleets had left our shores, and an English army was on its way to the territories of the sultan.

Let us relate what occurred before the reply of the Emperor Nicholas to the ultimatum returned. Incessant preparations were making for the coming war, the most prominent and interesting of which we will refer to. The English government resolved to send out to Malta, as the first division of the British division destined for the defence of Turkey, a body of infantry, amounting to 10,000 men, accompanied by a proportionable force of cavalry and artillery. The division consisted of three battalions of the guards; the 4th, 28th, 33rd, 50th, 77th, and 93rd regiments of the line; and the 2nd battalion of the rifle brigade. The artillery force included five field-batteries and one brigade for small-arm ball-cartridge. The brigade of cavalry comprised the Scots-greys, the carbineers, the 17th lancers, the 11th hussars, the 8th hussars, and the Ennis-killens. Lord Raglan was appointed to the chief command of the expedition, the forces of which were afterwards raised to 25,000

men. The army consisted of two divisions, one of which was under the command of General Sir George Browne, and the other of his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge. One item of preparation has a painful significance: we allude to that of the medical stores, which were provided partly by the Apothecaries' Hall, and partly from the well-known firm of Savory and Sons, New Bond-street. Among the articles were 1,000 lbs. of lint, 1,000 lbs. of tow, 200 old sheets, and 1,000 yards of adhesive plaster. Such things unpleasantly remind the thoughtless of the hideous sabre-gashes and rending bullet-wounds to which the poor soldier is liable.

On the 14th of February, the inhabitants of London beheld in their streets the first evidences of the war. At noon the 1st battalion of Coldstream guards marched out from St. George's barracks, Trafalgar-square, *en route* for Chichester, preparatory to embarking for the Mediterranean. The men seemed in the highest spirits, and marched cheerfully along to the familiar air of "The girl I left behind me," and amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the assembled multitude.

On the 20th of the same month his royal highness Prince Albert reviewed the 1st battalion of the fusileers, and the 3rd of the grenadier guards, at the Wellington barracks. The prince was accompanied by the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Hardinge, and a numerous suite. The troops were drawn up in open columns of companies on the parade-ground in front of the barracks, and the formal inspection was carried on from company to company, and from man to man, in every detail of accoutrement. "The towering bear-skin cap," says a spectator, "had been diminished by several inches; the Minié rifle was substituted for 'brown Bess;' the 'heavy-marching order' of the battalions carried along with it a strongly-marked campaigning character; the sappers seemed hung round with an extra supply of pick-axes, saws, and hatchets; even the officers seemed to take an unusual interest in the fit

of their sword-hilts. Then there were, as the intervals of discipline permitted, the grasping of hands, and words of brief and hearty farewell. The excitement and the anticipation of active service visibly extended through the ranks. Nor were the spectators indifferent witnesses of the scene before them. Thoughts of what war might do with those stately battalions could hardly be avoided on an occasion of the kind; yet at least it was satisfactory to feel that the honour of the country was confided to their keeping. As the grenadiers returned to their quarters at St. George's barracks, they were followed by excited thousands, eager to have a good look at them before they embarked."

On the 22nd, the 2nd battalion of the Coldstreams, and the 3rd of the grenadier guards, proceeded from London to Southampton, and embarked for Malta. Though scarcely daylight when the grenadiers left St. George's barracks for the Waterloo station, they were accompanied to the terminus by crowds of people, whose hearty cheers showed the true English interest they took in those who were leaving their country for the defence of the brave and the oppressed. Arrived at Southampton, the Coldstreams and the grenadiers embarked on board three steamers, and passed out of the docks amidst shouts from the spectators that rent the air—shouts that were lustily returned by the departing soldiers.

On the 28th of this month of military

\* Our readers will not censure us for placing before them a few facts concerning the brave seaman who has led forth the British fleet to the icy seas of the north, and to whom the maintenance of our naval supremacy and glory is entrusted. Sir Charles Napier is of a noble Scotch family, and was born on the 6th of March, 1786; entered the army in 1799; and soon gave proofs of that fearlessness and spirit for which he has so long been celebrated. He distinguished himself in the West Indies, in the Spanish war of succession (when in 1833 he commanded the fleet of Don Pedro, and gained a victory over the far superior squadron of Don Miguel), and in the war in Syria, when that memorable land, fraught with so many venerable associations which render it dear both to Christians and Mohammedans, was wrested in 1840 from the hands of Mehemet Ali, who had revolted against the sultan. Sir Charles then held the rank of commodore, and distinguished himself by taking the towns of Beyrout, Saida, Sidon, and Acre. Sir Charles has won laurels as a statesman and author, as well as in the capacity of a naval officer. He has published several useful papers on topics connected with his profession, and an *Historical Account of the War in Syria*; and another of that in Portugal.

In 1833, he desired to enter parliament, and stood for Portsmouth, where he gave the following bluff

bustle, the 1st battalion of the Scots fusilier guards left London and embarked at Portsmouth for the East. In consequence of her majesty having expressed a desire to see this splendid corps, it marched to Buckingham Palace at half-past seven in the morning; and having passed within the railing which surrounds the principal façade of that building, drew up and formed in front of the main entrance. As this was done, the queen, Prince Albert, and the royal children, surrounded by the household, presented themselves in the balcony. The troops saluted their sovereign, and then raised three tremendous cheers. Her majesty seemed deeply touched at the spectacle before her: then the notes of the national anthem rose into the air, mingled with the measured tramp of the soldiers as they resumed their march. Emotions of pride, mingled with sadness, no doubt, affected our beloved queen as she gazed upon that mass of noble fellows, then so full of life and alacrity. Where would they be when a twelvemonth had elapsed? Perhaps returned in triumph to their native land; or, perhaps, whitening the marshy banks of the Danube, or the wild plains of the Crimea, with their unburied bones. The troops reached Portsmouth about one, and embarked on board the commodious transport-ship, the *Simoon*, by three in the afternoon. The next day the vessel departed for Malta.

At Portsmouth every day saw the fleet under the brave old Sir Charles Napier\* sailor-like account of himself to the electors:—"In the course of my canvass, I have been asked who I am. I'll tell you. I am Captain Charles Napier, who twenty-five years ago commanded the *Recruit* brig in the West Indies, and who had the honour of being twenty-four hours under the guns of three French line-of-battle ships flying from a British squadron, the nearest of which, with the exception of the *Hawk* brig, was from five to six miles astern the greatest part of the time. I kept flying double-shotted broadsides into them. One of the ships (the *Hautpolt*) was captured by the *Pompey* and *Castor*, the other two escaped by superior sailing. Sir Alexander Cochrane, my commander-in-chief, promoted me on the spot into her. At the siege of Martinique, the *Æolus*, *Cleopatra*, and *Recruit*, were ordered to beat up in the night between Pigeon Island and the main, and anchor close to Fort Edward: the enemy, fearing an attack, burnt their shipping. At daylight in the morning, it appeared to me that Fort Edward was abandoned; this, however, was doubted. I offered to ascertain the fact, and with five men I landed in open day, scaled the walls and planted the union-jack on the ramparts. Fortunately, I was undiscovered from Fort Bourbon, which stood about a hundred yards off, and commanded it. On this being reported to Sir Alexander Cochrane, a regiment was landed in the night, Fort



and Admiral Chads advanced towards the completion of its equipment. The latter practised the fleet, morning and afternoon, in gunnery; the blazing and booming of cannon was almost perpetual, and Spithead presented glorious studies to enthusiastic artists. On the 8th of March, the signal—"Prepare for sea," was made by the port-

Edward was taken possession of, and the mortars turned against the enemy. I am in possession of a letter from Sir Alexander, saying, that 'my conduct was the means of saving many lives and shortening the siege of Martinique.' I had once the misfortune of receiving a precious licking from a French corvette; the first shot she fired broke my thigh, and a plumper carried away the mainmast. The enemy escaped, but the British flag was not tarnished. On my return to England in command of the *Jason*, I was turned out of her by a tory admiralty, because I had no interest; but as I could not lead an idle life I served a campaign with the army in Portugal as a volunteer, when I was again wounded. At the battle of Busaco, I had the honour of carrying off the field my gallant friend and relative, Colonel Napier, now near me, who was shot through the face. On my return to England, I was appointed to the *Thames*, in the Mediterranean; and if I could bring the inhabitants of the Neapolitan coast into this room, they would tell you that, from Naples to the Faro point, there was not a spot where I did not leave my mark, and brought off with me upwards of one hundred sail of gun-boats and merchant-vessels. I had the honour of running the *Thames* and *Furieuse* into the small mole of Ponza, which was strongly defended, and before they could recover from their surprise I captured the island without the loss of a man. I was then removed to the *Euryalus*, and had the good fortune to fall in with two French frigates and a schooner; I chased them in the night close into Calvi, in the Island of Corsica, passing close under the stern of one, plumpering her as I passed; and though we were going eight knots, I tried to run aboard of her consort, who was a little outside, standing athwart my house; the night was dark, the land close, and she succeeded in crossing me, but I drove her ashore on the rocks, where she was totally wrecked, and her consort was obliged to anchor close to her; the *Euryalus* wore round and got off, almost brushing the shore as she passed: these ships were afterwards ascertained to be *Armées en flûte*, mounting twenty-two guns each, and the schooner fourteen. From the Mediterranean I was ordered to America; and if my gallant friend, Sir James Gordon, was here he would have told you how I did my duty in that long, arduous service up the Potomac: he would have told you that in a tremendous squall the *Euryalus* lost her bowsprit and all her top-masts, and that in twelve hours she was again ready for work; we brought away a fleet from Alexandria, were attacked going down the river by batteries built close to what was the residence of the great Washington, and I was again wounded in that action in the neck."

In 1837 he presented himself as a candidate in the liberal interest to the electors of Greenwich, and polled 1,153 votes; but was defeated by forty votes. In 1841 he was more fortunate, being elected member for Marylebone. Since then he has frequently taken a prominent part in the councils of the nation, and

admiral's flag-ship, *Victory*, to Sir Charles Napier's fleet at Spithead and in harbour. It was immediately followed by another—"Be prepared to sail at the shortest notice." On the 10th her majesty, attended by the court, arrived from London, and after embarking on board the *Fairy* yacht, passed through the fleet at Spithead on her way to

always spoken with a sailor-like bluntness, and exhibited a political acuteness not generally found in gentlemen whose lives had been passed in the duties of a profession which almost excludes any profound study of the mysteries of statesmanship. In 1846, Sir Charles was made rear-admiral of the blue; and, in 1853, elevated to the rank of vice-admiral. We ought not to close this little account of the career of the gallant admiral without a slight reference to the banquet given to him by the members of the Reform Club, on the 7th of March, just previously to his departure for the Baltic. The speech of Lord Palmerston—that veteran statesman, who yet possesses more than the customary vivacity and brilliancy of youth—when proposing the health of Sir Charles, may be called a humorous but admirable essay on the life and character of the latter. Alluding to Sir Charles's improvements in agriculture, the noble lord observed:—"My gallant friend is a match for everything, and whatever he turns his hand to he generally succeeds in it. However, gentlemen, he now, like Cincinnatus, leaves his plough, puts on his armour, and is prepared to do that good service to his country which he will always perform whenever an opportunity is afforded to him." The noble viscount added:—"I cannot refrain from repeating an observation which was made to me by a very discriminating, calm-minded friend of mine, who passed some time in the East, and saw a great deal of my gallant friend, and who, when he came to town, visited me to give me an account of what he had observed. When I mentioned to him my gallant friend, and praised his enterprise and boldness, his daring and his intrepidity, this gentleman said, 'Yes, all that is very true; but there is another quality that Sir Charles Napier possesses, which is as valuable as any of these, and as important an ingredient in his success. *I never saw any man in my life who calculated so many moves beforehand.*'"

In his reply, Sir Charles, with the humorous bluntness of a sailor, observed, amidst much laughter:—"I cannot say we are at war, because we are still at peace; but I suppose we are very nearly at war, and probably when I get into the Baltic I'll have an opportunity of declaring war." Sir James Graham, possibly rendered a little more communicative, and less cautious, by the conviviality and excitement of the scene, than a minister of the state is expected to be, exclaimed:—"My gallant friend says, when he goes into the Baltic he will declare war. *I, as first lord of the admiralty, give him my free consent so to do.*" This expression was severely censured by the press, and brought before the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. French, who desired to know by what authority Sir James Graham delegated a power of declaring war to Sir Charles Napier, or to any other person, as it was provided by the constitution of this country that such power should rest exclusively in the sovereign. A rather warm debate followed; but the matter ultimately dropped, Sir James Graham's observations being regarded as a little after-dinner indiscretion.

Osborne. On the arrival of the queen at Portsmouth, the guns of the *Victory*, from which floated the flag of Sir Charles Napier, gave the signal to dress ship. Almost instantly the fleet was decked with flags, and every ship had its yards manned. Then the *Fairy*, with the royal standard flaunting from her mainmast, glided out of the harbour amid the lusty cheers of the crowds assembled upon the shore. As the yacht steered towards the head of the fleet, the salute from the latter began. The sixteen grim floating giants roared forth a welcome from their iron mouths that seemed to rend the air and make the shore tremble. The little royal yacht was completely enveloped in smoke, and the fleet itself almost shrouded from view. At length nothing could be seen through the vapour but the bright flashes of fire, as the cannons continued their wild thunderings. As the smoke cleared away, the yacht could be seen steaming swiftly through the fleet, on its way to Osborne.

On the following day, March the 11th, the first division of the Baltic fleet departed on its mission. It comprised, as will be seen from the following list, eight screw line-of-battle ships, four screw and four paddle-wheel ships of inferior rank, making a total of sixteen war steamers; of which two—the *Duke of Wellington* and the *Royal George*—are three-deckers, while three carry admirals' flags: Sir Charles Napier's in the *Duke*, Admiral Chads' in the *Edinburgh*, and Admiral Plumridge's in the *Leopard*:—

## SCREW LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIPS.

	Guns.	Men.	Horse-power.
The Duke of Wellington	131	1,100	780
The Royal George	121	990	400
The St. Jean d'Acre	101	900	650
The Princess Royal	91	850	400
The Blenheim	60	660	450
The Hogue	60	660	450
The Ajax	58	630	450
The Edinburgh	58	630	450
	680	6,420	4,030

## SCREW FRIGATES.

	Guns.	Men.	Horse-power.
The Impérieuse	50	530	360
The Arrogant	47	450	360
The Amphion	34	320	300
The Tribune	30	300	300
	161	1,600	1,320

## PADDLE-WHEELS.

	Guns.	Men.	Horse-power.
The Leopard	18	280	560
The Dragon	6	200	560
The Bulldog	6	160	500
Valorous	16	220	400
	46	860	2,020

This, the first division only, was soon augmented to twenty-two sail; and it was intended that, when the northern fleet was complete, Sir Charles Napier would have under his command forty-four noble vessels, manned by upwards of 22,000 men, and propelled by a steam power of more than 16,000 horses. The most commanding-looking vessel, upon this occasion, was the flag-ship of Sir Charles, the *Duke of Wellington*. It lay upon the placid water, silent and grim, with an air of reserved strength which threatened to be terrible in action. Sir Charles was anxious to get to sea; but, in compliance with the desire of the mayor, aldermen, and town-council of Portsmouth, he attended at the Guildhall, to receive an address they were anxious to present to him. This address reminded him of the responsibility which rested upon him; of the expectations which the British people entertained of his prowess; desired that the God of battles might aid and prosper him while fighting in a righteous cause, and enable him to bring it to a speedy and decisive issue. In conclusion, it wished him "God speed!" and prayed that the war, which had been needlessly forced upon Europe, might eventually result in a lasting peace, check the barbarous policy of aggression, and promote the civilisation of the world. The admiral replied in a brief and characteristic speech; and then, hastening to the Victoria pier, was taken by the *Sprightly* on board his stately flag-ship, the *Duke of Wellington*. The main and lower decks of the latter vessel were covered with red cloth, as it was understood that the queen would visit the fleet. Just before one o'clock the *Fairy* left Cowes, and approached the grim noble vessels that were ready to receive it. Again a thundering salute roared and blazed from every ship, to welcome the fair sovereign of that proud island which its national poet has described as a "precious stone set in the silver sea." Again the crews poured forth thrilling cheers of welcome, while the marines presented arms upon the quarter-decks, and the bands played the national anthem. A signal from the *Fairy* expressed that the queen would receive the captains of the different ships in her yacht, instead of herself visiting the *Duke of Wellington*. In consequence of this, Sir Charles, together with the other admirals and captains, went and paid their respects to her majesty. Upon their return, the signal was given to



weigh anchor; the huge sails were spread, and the first division of the British fleet sailed proudly away to the Baltic. It was followed, for several miles, by the queen's yacht; and before returning, her majesty stood for some time waving her handkerchief to her bold seamen, who had gone forth, upon the bosom of the ocean, in the holy cause of sustaining the injured in the struggle against the oppressor and foe of peace and civilisation. When out in the broad sea, Sir Charles issued the following highly characteristic address to the fleet—an address well calculated to go right to the hearts of our bluff Jack tars:—"Lads! war is declared. We are to meet a bold and numerous enemy. Should they offer us battle, you know how to dispose of them. Should they remain in port, we must try to get at them. Success depends upon the quickness and precision of your fire. Lads! sharpen your cutlasses, and the day is your own."

Preparations on a large scale were being carried on in France simultaneously with those in England. Marshal de St. Arnaud was appointed commander-in-chief of their army; the first division being commanded by General Canrobert, and the second by General Bosquet. Prince Napoleon also commanded a corps of reserve. The first division of the French army consisted of 40,000 men; and a French fleet of five-and-twenty vessels, including nine ships of the line, sailed from Brest to the Baltic.

The *Moniteur*, of April 21st, gives the following account of the French fleet:—

"The Baltic fleet, under the command of Vice-admiral Parseval-Deschênes, has sailed from Brest for the Gulf of Finland. This fleet, on board of which a body of infantry and marine artillery has embarked, is composed of the following vessels:—*Tage*, 100 guns; *Austerlitz*, screw, 100; *Hercule*, 100; *Jemmapes*, 100; *Breslaw*, 90; *Duguesclin*, 90; *Inflexible*, 90; *Duperré*, 80; *Trident*, 80; *Semillante*, 60; *Andromaque*, 60; *Vengeance*, 60; *Poursuivante*, 50; *Virginie*, 50; *Zenobie*, 50; *Psyché*, 40; *Darien*, steam-frigate, 14; *Phlegeton*, steam-corvette, 10; *Souffleur*, ditto, 6; and *Milan*,

*Lucifer*, *Aigle*, and *Daum*, small steamers. The French naval force in the Black Sea, under the command of Vice-admiral Hammelin, is composed of the *Friedland*, 120 guns; *Valmy*, 120; *Ville de Paris*, 120; *Henry IV.*, 100; *Bayard*, 90; *Charlemagne*, screw, 90; *Jéna*, 90; *Jupiter*, 90; *Marengo*, 80; steam-frigate, *Gomer*, 16; *Descartes*, 20; *Vauban*, 20; *Mogador*, 8; *Cacique*, 14; *Magellan*, 14; *Sané*, 14; *Caton*, steam-corvette, 4; *Sérieuse*, sailing ditto, 30; *Mercure*, *Olivieri*, and *Beaumanoir*, 20-gun brigs; *Cerf*, 10-gun brig; *Prométhée*, *Salamandre*, *Héron*, and *Monette*, small steamers. The squadron of Vice-admiral Bruat, intended to act in the Black Sea, the Sea of Gallipoli, and in the Eastern Archipelago, comprises the following vessels:—*Montebello*, 120 guns; *Napoleon*, screw, 92; *Suffren*, 90; *Jean Bart*, screw, 90; *Ville de Marseille*, 80; *Alger*, 80; *Pomone*, screw, 40; *Caffarelli*, steam-frigate, 14; *Roland* and *Primauguet*, steam-corvettes, eight guns each. Independently of these three squadrons and all the frigates, or steam-corvettes, which are assembled in the Mediterranean for the transport of the army of the East, all the naval stations in the West Indies, the Pacific Ocean, the Indo-China seas, and in all quarters where the fisheries are carried on, have been reinforced. The French navy has now embarked on different seas 56,000 sailors, and England has an equal force."

By the time Sir Charles Napier had reached his destination, all the English newspapers were full of what was called "The Secret Correspondence!" Every city, every town, every village, every club, every little knot of talkers spoke mysteriously of the secret correspondence! What was this secret correspondence? We will lay it before you, reader, and first tell you how it arose. The *St. Petersburg Journal* of the 2nd of March, contained an elaborate attempt to explain and vindicate the conduct of the Russian government in its aggressive transactions with respect to Turkey. The article in the *St. Petersburg Journal* (elicited by a speech of Lord John Russell in the British House of Commons) was regarded, in a semi-official character, as having been written by or at the dictation of the Emperor Nicholas, in reply to this speech, which it described as a brutal outrage.\* As

\* The speech referred to occurred in a debate in the House of Commons on the 17th of February, on the then probable war with Russia. It was a sort of review of the causes of the war, and a defence of the proceedings of the government of which Lord John Russell was a member. For our own part we cannot recognise in it the brutal outrage upon the virtuous emperor, or the extremely intemperate language so unbecoming to a cabinet minister. Lord John inferred that the conduct of the Russian

government had been deceptive: he stated that the course adopted by the emperor showed a total disregard of the peace of Europe, and an utter contempt of its opinion; and he added, that the cause was not alone for the independence of Turkey, but it involved the peace of Europe, of which the Emperor of Russia was the wanton disturber; and it was for mankind to throw upon the head of that disturber the consequences which he so flagrantly and imprudently provoked.

will be observed, it alludes to a frank and unreserved declaration, said to be made by the emperor to the English government in the early part of the year 1853, respecting his views concerning Turkey, and contained a sort of challenge to the English ministry to produce certain documents, showing it shared and approved of the intentions of the emperor with regard to the probable partition of the Ottoman empire. The article is possessed of so singular and striking an interest, that we subjoin it:—

“ We have just received a report of the sitting of the House of Commons of the 17th of February, and the speech which Lord John Russell made on that occasion. It is not here the place to repeat brutal outrages, of which every faithful servant of the emperor will preserve the recollection, but which do not reach the august person to whom they are addressed. We shall confine ourselves to remarking that the parliamentary annals might be searched in vain for an example of such intemperate language from the mouth of a cabinet minister, in reference to a sovereign against whom the country of that minister has not yet declared war. What are of importance in this speech, are not the invectives of the minister, but the nature of the determinations of the government which the speech reveals. It must be very evident henceforward, that the peace of the world does not depend upon chance only; but that war forms a decided element of the plans of the English ministry. From this cause has necessarily arisen that fatal distrust which in the Eastern question was the origin of all the previous difficulties, and which will lead at last to the most deplorable result. That such distrust may have been entertained by France—that it may, up to a certain point, have found a place in the mind of a government still recent, which has not had time to acquire by long experience of former relations with it an exact idea of our real intentions, and abandoning itself involuntarily to the almost traditional opinion which has been formed of Russian policy in the East,—that may be easily conceived; but on the part of England, which is aware of the antecedents and the character of the emperor from a connexion of long date, an opinion of such a nature justly excites surprise. *Less than any other the British government should entertain such suspicions. It has in its hands the written proof that there is no foundation for them; for long before the present condition of affairs—before the questions which led to the mission of Prince Mentschikoff to Constantinople had assumed so serious an aspect of difference—before Great Britain had adopted the same line of policy as France, the emperor had spontaneously explained himself with the most perfect candour to the queen and her ministers, with the object of*

*establishing with them a friendly understanding, even upon the most important result which can affect the Ottoman empire.* Since the year 1829, his majesty followed with great attention the march of events in Turkey. The emperor could not shut his eyes to the consequences of the changes which were, one after the other, introduced into that state. Ancient Turkey disappeared from the time when it was sought to establish those institutions diametrically opposed as well to the genius of Islamism as to the character and usages of the Mussulmaus—institutions more or less borrowed from modern liberalism, and consequently entirely opposed to the spirit of the Ottoman government. It became evident that Turkey was undergoing a complete transformation, and that these experiments, at least doubtful so far as regarded the reorganisation of the empire, seemed rather calculated to lead to a crisis which would overturn it. It seemed likely that a new order of things would arise which, although indefinable, would at all events destroy that which existed. To these permanent and increasing causes of dissolution recent complications have been added, resulting from the affairs of Montenegro, the religious persecutions exercised in several Christian provinces, a difference with the Austrian government, considerable financial embarrassment, and, lastly, the important affair of the holy places, to which the imperious demands of the French ambassador at Constantinople were beginning to give a serious and menacing character. These complications, which created sullen excitement among the Christian population, were likely from one day to another to bring about a sudden catastrophe which it was urgent to prevent. Penetrated with the extreme importance of such a result, and having at that period almost reached the region of the possible, if not entirely of the probable,—convinced of the disastrous consequences which might result from it, the emperor thought it necessary to assure himself beforehand whether the English government shared his apprehensions. He wished more particularly, by a frank previous understanding, to remove every subject of misunderstanding between Great Britain and himself. It seemed of the highest importance to his majesty to establish the most perfect identity of views with the government of Great Britain. With this view the emperor engaged the English minister at St. Petersburg to cause her majesty to be informed of his anticipations with respect to the danger, more or less imminent, that menaced Turkey. He requested on this subject a confidential interchange of opinions with her Britannic majesty. That was certainly the most evident proof of confidence which the emperor could give to the court of St. James; and thus did his majesty most openly signify his sincere wish to prevent any ulterior divergence between the two governments. Sir. H.



Seymour acquitted himself forthwith of the important commission which the emperor had impressed on him in a long and familiar conversation. The result has shown itself in a correspondence of the most friendly character between the present English ministers and the imperial government. It is not permitted to us to divulge the contents of non-official documents, which do not concern the emperor alone, and which contain the expression of a mutual confidence. What we are permitted to say is, that in examining the circumstances more or less likely to affect the duration of the *status quo* in the East,—an examination undertaken from the conviction respectively entertained that every effort should be made to sustain that *status quo*, and to prolong it as long as possible, there never was any question of a plan by which Russia and England might dispose beforehand, and between themselves, of the destiny of the different provinces which constitute the Ottoman empire; still less of a formal agreement to be concluded between them, without the knowledge and unassisted by the counsel and intervention of the other courts. The two parties were limited to a frank and single confidence, but without reserve on either side, to communicate what might be adverse to English interests, what might be so to Russian, so that in any given case hostile or even contradictory action might be avoided. In looking over the different parts of this confidential correspondence—in recalling the spirit in which they themselves had interpreted it—the ministers with whom at the time it was carried on, and who since have permitted themselves to be swayed by prepossessions to be regretted, will be able to decide if those prepossessions are just. Let Lord J. Russell more especially re-peruse that correspondence, in which he was the first to take part, before ceding to Lord Clarendon the direction of foreign affairs. Let him consult his conscience, if the passion which leads him astray permit him to recognise its voice. He can decide now, whether it be really true that the emperor has been wanting in frankness towards the English government; or if rather his majesty has not unbosomed himself to England with as little reserve as possible; if there exists the least reason for believing that we have ambitious or exclusive views on Constantinople; or, if on the contrary, the emperor has not explained himself in a way to remove all doubt as to his real intentions on the subject of the political combinations to be avoided, in the extreme case which he at the time pointed out to the foresight of the British government.”

The charge of complicity thus made against the English government was an artful and a serious one. The Earl of Derby rose in the House of Lords, and demanded of Lord Aberdeen whether the confidential

correspondence referred to by the *St. Petersburg Journal* did actually take place, and whether the noble earl, being challenged by the Emperor of Russia, would satisfy the people of this country by *producing the whole of such correspondence?* Lord Aberdeen, in reply, said:—“The communications to which the noble earl referred, and which took place between his majesty the Emperor of Russia and some of her majesty’s ministers, were not printed with the papers laid on the table, in consequence of the confidential character which was considered to be in some degree attached to them. It has not been usual, under circumstances similar to those under which these communications were made, to lay upon the table of parliament a statement of familiar conversation, such as those described, between a sovereign and a foreign minister; and for this reason her majesty’s government did not think it proper or consistent with that respect or delicacy which was due to a prince with whom we were on terms of alliance, to produce papers which had a somewhat private and confidential character. The statement in the *St. Petersburg Journal*, which must be considered as in some degree official, and by which it appears that there is no reluctance on the part of Russia that her majesty’s government should produce and make public all communications which had passed on the subject, relieves her majesty’s ministers from much difficulty in treating with the matter, and removes any reasonable scruple they might have entertained relative to the production of the papers to which the noble earl refers. I can assure the noble earl, that if he had not made the observations he has, I should still have laid these papers on the table, and stated these communications to your lordships, the object to retain them and consider them as private having now ceased. The whole of this correspondence will therefore be laid upon the table.”

This secret correspondence attracted so much attention, is so necessary to the perfect understanding of the politics of the war, and contains matter of so much interest of an historical and anecdotal character, that we deem its introduction a duty we owe to our readers. It might be not incorrectly described as glances of Nicholas at home; of Nicholas while weaving subtle webs for the enslavement of nations and the aggrandisement of the future czars of Russia:—

## No. 1.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord J. Russell.—(Received Jan. 23rd.—Secret and confidential.)

“St. Petersburg, Jan. 11th, 1853.

“My Lord,—On the evening of the 9th instant, I had the honour of seeing the emperor at the palace of the Grand Duchess Helen, who, it appeared, had kindly requested permission to invite Lady Seymour and myself to meet the imperial family. The emperor came up to me, in the most gracious manner, to say that he had heard with great pleasure of her majesty's government having been definitively formed,\* adding that he trusted the ministry would be of long duration. His imperial majesty desired me particularly to convey this assurance to the Earl of Aberdeen, with whom, he said, he had been acquainted for nearly forty years, and for whom he entertained equal regard and esteem. His majesty desired to be brought to the kind recollection of his lordship.

“‘You know my feelings,’ the emperor said, ‘with regard to England. What I have told you before I say again; it was intended that the two countries should be upon terms of close amity; and I feel sure that this will continue to be the case. You have now been a certain time here, and, as you have seen, there have been very few points upon which we have disagreed; our interests, in fact, are upon almost all questions the same.’

“I observed, that ‘I really was not aware that since I had been at St. Petersburg there had been any actual disagreements whatever between us, except with regard to Louis Napoleon's No. III.,—a point, respecting which each government had its own opinion (*manière de voir*), but a point which, after all, was very immaterial.’

“‘The No. III.,’ the emperor replied, ‘would involve a long explanation; I will therefore not touch upon the subject at present; I should be glad, however, that you should hear what I have to say upon the question, and will beg of you to call upon me some morning when I am a little free from engagements.’

“I, of course, requested that his majesty would be good enough to lay his orders upon me.

“In the meantime the emperor went on to say:—‘I repeat that it is very essential that the two governments—that is, that the English government and I, and I and the English government—should be upon the best terms; and the necessity was never greater than at present. I beg you to convey these words to Lord John Russell. When we are agreed (*d'accord*), I am quite without anxiety as to the west of Europe; it is immaterial what the others may think or do. As to Turkey, that is another question; that country is in a critical state, and may give us all a great deal of trouble. And now I will take my leave of you;’ which his majesty pro-

\* That is, the Aberdeen administration.

ceeded to do by shaking hands with me very graciously. It instantly occurred to me that the conversation was incomplete and might never be renewed, and, as the emperor still held my hand, I said, ‘Sir, with your gracious permission, I would desire to take a great liberty.’ ‘Certainly,’ his majesty replied, ‘what is it? let me hear.’ ‘Sir,’ I observed, ‘your majesty has been good enough to charge me with general assurances as to the identity of views between the two cabinets, which assuredly have given me the greatest pleasure, and will be received with equal satisfaction in England; but I should be particularly glad that your majesty should add a few words which may tend to calm the anxiety with regard to the *affairs of Turkey, which passing events are so calculated to excite on the part of her majesty's government*. Perhaps you will be pleased to charge me with some additional assurances of this kind.’

“The emperor's words and manner, although still very kind, showed that his majesty had no intention of speaking to me of the demonstration which he is about to make in the south. He said, however, at first with a little hesitation, but, as he proceeded, in an open and unhesitating manner,—‘The affairs of Turkey are in a very disorganised condition; the country itself seems to be falling to pieces (*menace ruine*); the fall will be a great misfortune, and it is very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding upon these affairs, and that neither should take any decisive step of which the other is not apprised.’

“I observed in a few words, that I rejoiced to hear that his imperial majesty held this language; that this was certainly the view I took of the manner in which Turkish questions were to be treated.

“‘Tenez,’ the emperor said, as if proceeding with his remark, ‘tenez; nous avons sur les bras un homme malade—un homme gravement malade; ce sera, je vous le dis franchement, un grand malheur si, un de ces jours, il devait nous échapper, surtout avant que toutes les dispositions nécessaires fussent prises. Mais enfin ce n'est point le moment de vous parler de cela.’

“It was clear that the emperor did not intend to prolong the conversation. I therefore said, ‘Votre majesté est si gracieuse qu'elle me permettra de lui faire encore une observation. Votre majesté dit que l'homme est malade; c'est bien vrai, mais votre majesté daignera m'excuser si je lui fais observer, que c'est à l'homme généreux et fort de ménager l'homme malade et faible.’

“The emperor then took leave of me in a manner which conveyed the impression of my having, at least, not given offence, and again expressed his intention of sending for me on some future day. Whether the intention will be acted upon is not to me so certain. It may be right that I should state to your lordship



that I propose giving Count Nesselrode an account of my conversation with his imperial master. I am convinced that the chancellor is invariably favourable to measures of moderation, and, as far as lies in his power, to English views. His desire, then, to act in harmony with her majesty's government cannot but be strengthened by learning the cordial declarations which the emperor has made to me upon the subject. Upon reading over my despatch, I am convinced that the conversation, although abridged, has been faithfully reported; the only point of any interest which I am aware of not having touched upon being, that the emperor observed that the last accounts from Constantinople were more satisfactory, the Turks appearing to be more reasonable, although by what process they had become so had not been made apparent. I will only observe that we have every interest in its being understood that no decision should be taken in the affairs of Turkey, without concert with her majesty's government, by a sovereign who can dispose of several hundred thousand bayonets.

"Would the understanding be acted upon?—That, indeed, may well be doubted, and the rather as the emperor's assurances are a little contradicted by the measures to which it has been my duty to call your lordship's attention. Still, his imperial majesty's words appear to me to possess considerable value, and certainly they offer me at this moment an advantage of which I shall not be backward in availing myself. Your lordship will pardon me if I remark that, after reflecting attentively upon my conversation with the emperor, it appears to me that this, and any overture of the kind which may be made, tends to establish a dilemma by which it is very desirable that her majesty's government should not allow themselves to be fettered. The dilemma seems to be this:—If her majesty's government do not come to an understanding with Russia as to what is to happen in the event of the sudden downfall of Turkey, they will have the less reason for complaining if results displeasing to England should be prepared. If, on the contrary, her majesty's government should enter into the consideration of such eventualities, they make themselves in some degree consenting parties to a catastrophe which they have so much interest in warding off as long as possible. The sum is probably this:—That England has to desire a close concert with Russia, with a view to preventing the downfall of Turkey; while Russia would be well pleased that the concert should apply to the events by which this downfall is to be followed.

"I have, &c.,

"G. H. SEYMOUR."

"P. S.—Since this despatch was written I have heard from the Austrian minister, that the emperor has spoken to him of the conversation which he had held with me. 'I told Sir Hamil-

ton Seymour,' his majesty said, 'that the new ministry appears to me to be strong, and that I am anxious for its duration; although, to say the truth, as regards England, I have learnt that it is the country with which we must be allied. We must not lean to this or that party.'

"G. H. S."

#### No. 2.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord John Russell.—(Received Feb. 6th.—Secret and confidential.)

"St. Petersburg, Jan. 22nd, 1853.

"My Lord,—On the 14th instant, in consequence of a summons which I received from the chancellor, I waited upon the emperor, and had the honour of holding with his imperial majesty the very interesting conversation of which it will be my duty to offer your lordship an account, which, if imperfect, will, at all events, not be incorrect. I found his majesty alone; he received me with great kindness, saying, that I had appeared desirous to speak to him upon Eastern affairs; that, on his side, there was no indisposition to do so, but that he must begin at a remote period.

"'You know,' his majesty said, 'the dreams and plans in which the Empress Catherine was in the habit of indulging; these were handed down to our time; but while I inherited immense territorial possessions, I did not inherit those visions—those intentions, if you like to call them so. On the contrary, my country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would be unreasonable in me to desire more territory or more power than I possess; on the contrary, I am the first to tell you that our great, perhaps our only danger, is that which would arise from an extension given to an empire already too large. Close to us lies Turkey, and, in our present condition, nothing better for our interest can be desired; the times have gone by when we had anything to fear from the fanatical spirit or the military enterprise of the Turks, and yet the country is strong enough, or has hitherto been strong enough, to preserve its independence, and to insure respectful treatment from other countries. Well, in that empire there are several millions of Christians whose interests I am called upon to watch over (*surveiller*), while the right of doing so is secured to me by treaty. I may truly say that I make a moderate and sparing use of my right, and I will freely confess that it is one which is attended with obligations occasionally very inconvenient; but I cannot recede from the discharge of a distinct duty. Our religion, as established in this country, came to us from the East, and there are feelings, as well as obligations, which never must be lost sight of. Now, Turkey, in the condition which I have described, has by degrees fallen into such a state of decrepitude, that, as I told you the other night, eager as we all are for the prolonged existence of the man

(and that I am as desirous as you can be for the continuance of his life, I beg you to believe), he may suddenly die upon our hands (*nous rester sur les bras*); we cannot resuscitate what is dead; if the Turkish empire falls, it falls to rise no more; and I put it to you, therefore, whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency, than to incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of a European war, all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly, and before some ulterior system has been sketched? This is the point to which I am desirous that you should call the attention of your government.'

"Sir," I replied, 'your majesty is so frank with me that I am sure you will have the goodness to permit me to speak with the same openness. I would then observe that, deplorable as is the condition of Turkey, it is a country which has long been plunged in difficulties supposed by many to be insurmountable. With regard to contingent arrangements, her majesty's government, as your majesty is well aware, objects, as a general rule, to taking engagements upon possible eventualities, and would, perhaps, be particularly disinclined to doing so in this instance. If I may be allowed to say so, a great disinclination (*répugnance*) might be expected in England to disposing by anticipation (*d'escompter*) of the succession of an old friend and ally.'

"The rule is a good one," the emperor replied, 'good at all times, especially in times of uncertainty and change, like the present; still it is of the greatest importance that we should understand one another, and not allow events to take us by surprise; maintenant je désire vous parler en ami et en gentleman; si nous arrivons à nous entendre sur cette affaire, l'Angleterre et moi, pour le reste peu m'importe; il m'est indifférent ce que font ou pensent les autres. Usant donc de franchise, je vous dis nettement, que si l'Angleterre songe à s'établir un de ces jours à Constantinople, je ne le permettrai pas; je ne vous prête point ces intentions, mais il vaut mieux dans ces occasions parler clairement; de mon côté, je suis également disposé de prendre l'engagement de ne pas m'y établir, en propriétaire, il s'entend, car en dépositaire je ne dis pas; il pourrait se faire que les circonstances me misent dans le cas d'occuper Constantinople, si rien ne se trouve prévu, si l'on doit tout laisser aller au hasard.'

"I thanked his majesty for the frankness of his declarations, and for the desire which he had expressed of acting cordially and openly with her majesty's government, observing at the same time that such an understanding appeared the best security against the sudden danger to which his majesty had alluded. I added that, although unprepared to give a decided opinion upon questions of such magnitude and delicacy, it appeared to me possible that some

such arrangement might be made between her majesty's government and his majesty as might guard, if not for, at least against certain contingencies. To render my meaning more clear I said, further, 'I can only repeat, sir, that in my opinion her majesty's government will be indisposed to make certain arrangements connected with the downfall of Turkey, but it is possible that they may be ready to pledge themselves against certain arrangements which might, in that event, be attempted.'

"His imperial majesty then alluded to a conversation which he had held the last time he was in England with the Duke of Wellington, and to the motives which had compelled him to open himself to his grace; then, as now, his majesty was, he said, eager to provide against events which, in the absence of any concert, might compel him to act in a manner opposed to the views of her majesty's government. The conversation passed to the events of the day, when the emperor briefly recapitulated his claims upon the holy places—claims recognised by the firman of last February, and confirmed by a sanction to which his majesty said he attached much more importance—the word of a sovereign. The execution of promises so made and so ratified the emperor said he must insist upon, but was willing to believe that his object would be attained by negotiation, the last advices from Constantinople being rather more satisfactory. I expressed my belief that negotiation, followed, as I supposed it had been, by the threats of military measures, would be found sufficient to secure a compliance with the just demands of Russia. I added that I desired to state to his majesty what I had previously read from a written paper to his minister—viz., that what I feared for Turkey were not the intentions of his majesty, but the actual result of the measures which appeared to be in contemplation. That I would repeat, that two consequences might be anticipated from the appearance of an imperial army on the frontiers of Turkey—the one the counter-demonstration which might be provoked on the part of France; the other, and the more serious, the rising, on the part of the Christian population against the sultan's authority, already so much weakened by revolts and by a severe financial crisis.

"The emperor assured me that no movement of his forces had yet taken place (*n'ont pas bougé*), and expressed his hope that no advance would be required. With regard to a French expedition to the sultan's dominions, his majesty intimated that such a step would bring affairs to an immediate crisis; that a sense of honour would compel him to send his forces into Turkey without delay or hesitation; that if the result of such an advance should prove to be the overthrow of the Great Turk, he should regret the event, but should feel that he had acted as he was compelled to do.



"To the above report I have only, I think, to add that the emperor desired to leave it to my discretion to communicate or not to his minister the particulars of our conversation; and that before I left the room his imperial majesty said, 'You will report what has passed between us to the queen's government, and you will say that I shall be ready to receive any communication which it may be their wish to make to me upon the subject.' The other topics touched upon by the emperor are mentioned in another despatch. With regard to the extremely important overture to which this report relates, I will only observe that, as it is my duty to record impressions, as well as facts and statements, I am bound to say that if words, tone, and manner offer any criterion by which intentions are to be judged, the emperor is prepared to act with perfect fairness and openness towards her majesty's government. His majesty has, no doubt, his own objects in view; and he is, in my opinion, too strong a believer in the imminence of dangers in Turkey. I am, however, impressed with the belief that, in carrying out those objects, as in guarding against those dangers, his majesty is sincerely desirous of acting in harmony with her majesty's government.

"I would now submit to your lordship that this overture cannot with propriety pass unnoticed by her majesty's government. It has been on a first occasion glanced at, and on a second distinctly made by the emperor himself to the queen's minister at his court, while the conversation held some years ago with the Duke of Wellington proves that the object in view is one which has long occupied the thoughts of his imperial majesty. If, then, the proposal were to remain unanswered, a decided advantage would be secured to the imperial cabinet, which, in the event of some great catastrophe taking place in Turkey, would be able to point to proposals made to England, and which, not having been responded to, left the emperor at liberty, or placed him under the necessity of following his own line of policy in the East. Again, I would remark that the anxiety expressed by the emperor, even looking to his own interests, for an extension of the days 'of the dying man,' appears to me to justify her majesty's government in proposing to his imperial majesty to unite with England in the adoption of such measures as may lead to prop up the falling authority of the sultan. Lastly, I would observe that, even if the emperor should be found disinclined to lend himself to such a course of policy as might arrest the downfall of Turkey, his declarations to me pledge him to be ready to take beforehand, in concert with her majesty's government, such precautions as may possibly prevent the fatal crisis being followed by a scramble for the rich inheritance which would remain to be disposed of. A

noble triumph would be obtained by the civilisation of the nineteenth century if the void left by the extinction of Mohammedan rule in Europe could be filled up without an interruption of the general peace, in consequence of the precautions adopted by the two principal governments the most interested in the destinies of Turkey.

I have, &c.,

"G. H. SEYMOUR."

#### No. 3.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord J. Russell.—(Received Feb. 6th.—Secret and confidential.)  
(Extract.) "St. Petersburg, Jan. 22, 1853.

"I have generally found straightforward conduct to be the best policy, and as it is peculiarly called for towards those who have acted by us in a similar manner, upon leaving the palace on the 14th inst. I drove to the Foreign-office, and gave Count Nesselrode a correct summary of the conversation I had just had the honour of holding with the emperor."

#### No. 4.

Lord J. Russell to Sir G. H. Seymour.—Secret and confidential.)

"Foreign-office, Feb. 9, 1853.

"Sir,—I have received and laid before the queen your secret and confidential despatch of the 22nd of January.

"Her majesty, upon this as upon former occasions, is happy to acknowledge the moderation, the frankness, and the friendly disposition of his imperial majesty.

"Her majesty has directed me to reply in the same spirit of temperate, candid, and amicable discussion.

"The question raised by his imperial majesty is a very serious one. It is, supposing the contingency of the dissolution of the Turkish empire to be probable, or even imminent, 'whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency than to incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of a European war, all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly, and before some ulterior system has been sketched; this is the point,' said his imperial majesty, 'to which I am desirous that you should call the attention of your government.'

"In considering this grave question, the first reflection which occurs to her majesty's government is, that no actual crisis has occurred which renders necessary a solution of this vast European problem. Disputes have arisen respecting the holy places, but these are without the sphere of the internal government of Turkey, and concern Russia and France rather than the Sublime Porte. Some disturbance of the relations between Austria and the Porte has been caused by the Turkish attack on Montenegro; but this, again, relates rather to dangers affecting the frontier of Austria than the authority

and safety of the sultan; so that there is no sufficient cause for intimating to the sultan that he cannot keep peace at home, or preserve friendly relations with his neighbours.

"It occurs further to her majesty's government to remark that the event which is contemplated is not definitely fixed in point of time. When William III. and Louis XIV. disposed, by treaty, of the succession of Charles II. of Spain, they were providing for an event which could not be far off. The infirmities of the sovereign of Spain and the certain end of any human life, made the contingency in prospect both sure and near. The death of the Spanish king was in no way hastened by the treaty of partition. The same thing may be said of the provision, made in the last century, for the disposal of Tuscany upon the decease of the last prince of the house of Medici. But the contingency of the dissolution of the Ottoman empire is of another kind. It may happen twenty, fifty, or 100 years hence.

"In these circumstances it would hardly be consistent with the friendly feelings towards the sultan which animate the Emperor of Russia, no less than the Queen of Great Britain, to dispose beforehand of the provinces under his dominion. Besides this consideration, however, it must be observed, that an agreement made in such a case tends very surely to hasten the contingency for which it is intended to provide. Austria and France could not, in fairness, be kept in ignorance of the transaction, nor would such concealment be consistent with the end of preventing an European war. Indeed, such concealment cannot be intended by his imperial majesty. It is to be inferred that, as soon as Great Britain and Russia should have agreed on the course to be pursued, and have determined to enforce it, they should communicate their intentions to the great powers of Europe. An agreement thus made, and thus communicated, would not be very long a secret; and while it would alarm and alienate the sultan, the knowledge of its existence would stimulate all his enemies to increased violence and more obstinate conflict. They would fight with the conviction that they must ultimately triumph, while the sultan's generals and troops would feel that no immediate success could save their cause from final overthrow. Thus would be produced and strengthened that very anarchy which is now feared, and the foresight of the friends of the patient would prove the cause of his death.

"Her majesty's government need scarcely enlarge on the dangers attendant on the execution of any similar convention. The example of the succession war is enough to show how little such agreements are respected when a pressing temptation urges their violation. The position of the Emperor of Russia as depositary, but not proprietor, of Constantinople, would be

exposed to numberless hazards, both from the long-cherished ambition of his own nation, and the jealousies of Europe. The ultimate proprietor, whoever he might be, would hardly be satisfied with the inert, supine attitude of the heirs of Mahomet II. A great influence on the affairs of Europe seems naturally to belong to the sovereign of Constantinople, holding the gates of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

"That influence might be used in favour of Russia; it might be used to control and curb her power.

"His imperial majesty has justly and wisely said:—'My country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would be unreasonable in me to desire more territory or more power than I possess. On the contrary,' he observed, 'our great, perhaps our only danger, is that which would arise from an extension given to an empire already too large.' A vigorous and ambitious state, replacing the Sublime Porte, might, however, render war on the part of Russia a necessity for the emperor or his successors.

"Thus European conflict would arise from the very means taken to prevent it; for neither England nor France, nor probably Austria, would be content to see Constantinople permanently in the hands of Russia.

"On the part of Great Britain, her majesty's government at once declare that they renounce all intention or wish to hold Constantinople. His imperial majesty may be quite secure upon this head. They are likewise ready to give an assurance that they will enter into no agreement to provide for the contingency of the fall of Turkey without previous communication with the Emperor of Russia.

"Upon the whole, then, her majesty's government are persuaded that no course of policy can be adopted more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe than that which his imperial majesty has so long followed, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous sovereigns who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory.

"With a view to the success of this policy, it is desirable that the utmost forbearance should be manifested towards Turkey; that any demands which the great powers of Europe may have to make should be made matter of friendly negotiation rather than of peremptory demand; that military and naval demonstrations to coerce the sultan should as much as possible be avoided; that differences with respect to matters affecting Turkey, within the competence of the Sublime Porte, should be decided after mutual concert between the great powers, and not be forced upon the weakness of the Turkish government.

"To these cautions her majesty's government wish to add, that in their view it is essen-



tial that the sultan should be advised to treat his Christian subjects in conformity with the principles of equity and religious freedom which prevail generally among the enlightened nations of Europe. The more the Turkish government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that exceptional protection which his imperial majesty has found so burdensome and inconvenient, though no doubt prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty.

"You may read this despatch to Count Nesselrode, and, if it is desired, you may yourself place a copy of it in the hands of the emperor. In that case you will accompany its presentation with those assurances of friendship and confidence on the part of her majesty the queen, which the conduct of his imperial majesty was so sure to inspire.

"I am, &c.,  
"J. RUSSELL."

No. 5.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord John Russell.—(Received March 6th.—Secret and confidential.) (Extract.) "St. Petersburg, Feb. 21, 1853.

"The emperor came up to me last night, at a party of the Grand Duchess Hereditary's, and in the most gracious manner took me apart, saying that he desired to speak to me. After expressing, in flattering terms, the confidence which he has in me, and his readiness to speak to me without reserve upon matters of the greatest moment, as, his majesty observed, he had proved in a late conversation, he said:—'And it is well it is so; for what I most desire is, that there should be the greatest intimacy between the two governments: it never was so necessary as at present. Well,' the emperor continued, 'so you have got your answer, and you are to bring it to me to-morrow?'

"'I am to have that honour, sir,' I answered; 'but your majesty is aware that the nature of the reply is very exactly what I had led you to expect.'

"'So I was sorry to hear; but I think your government does not well understand my object. I am not so eager about what shall be done when the sick man dies,\* as I am to determine with England what shall not be done upon that event taking place.'

"'But, sir,' I replied, 'allow me to observe, that we have no reason to think that the sick man (to use your majesty's expression) is dying. We are as much interested as we believe your majesty to be in his continuing to live; while, for myself, I will venture to remark that experience shows me that countries

do not die in such a hurry. Turkey will remain for many a year, unless some unforeseen crisis should occur. It is precisely, sir, for the avoidance of all circumstances likely to produce such a crisis that her majesty's government reckons upon your generous assistance.'

"'Then,' rejoined the emperor, 'I will tell you that, if your government has been led to believe that Turkey retains any elements of existence, your government must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you, that the sick man is dying; and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise. We must come to some understanding; and this we should do, I am convinced, if I could hold but ten minutes' conversation with your ministers—with Lord Aberdeen, for instance, who knows me so well, who has full confidence in me, as I have in him. And, remember, I do not ask for a treaty or a protocol; a general understanding is all I require—that between gentlemen is sufficient; and in this case I am certain that the confidence would be as great on the side of the queen's ministers as on mine. So no more for the present; you will come to me to-morrow, and you will remember that as often as you think your conversing with me will promote a good understanding upon any point, you will send word that you wish to see me.'

"I thanked his majesty very cordially, adding that I could assure him that her majesty's government, I was convinced, considered his word, once given, as good as a bond. It is hardly necessary that I should observe to your lordship that this short conversation, briefly but correctly reported, offers matter for most anxious reflection. It can hardly be otherwise but that the sovereign, who insists with such pertinacity upon the impending fall of a neighbouring state, must have settled in his own mind that the hour, if not of its dissolution, at all events for its dissolution, must be at hand. Then, as now, I reflected that this assumption would hardly be ventured upon unless some, perhaps general, but at all events intimate understanding, existed between Russia and Austria. Supposing my suspicion to be well founded, the emperor's object is to engage her majesty's government, in conjunction with his own cabinet and that of Vienna, in some scheme for the ultimate partition of Turkey, and for the exclusion of France from the arrangement."

No. 6.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 6th.—Secret and confidential.) (Extract.) "St. Petersburg, Feb. 22nd, 1853.

"I had the honour of waiting yesterday upon

Nieholas was at that moment striving to induce England and Austria to enter into a conspiracy with him for the partition of Turkey. He was in a condition to say that Turkey was sick, when he was himself administering it poison.

\* The duplicity of the emperor will be better understood, by remembering that at this time Prince Menschikoff was already on his way to Constantinople with the celebrated note which led to the subsequent rupture between Russia and the Porte.

the emperor, and of holding with his majesty one of the most interesting conversations in which I ever found myself engaged. My only regret is my inability to report in full detail a dialogue which lasted an hour and twelve minutes. The emperor began by desiring me to read to him aloud your lordship's secret and confidential despatch of the 9th inst., saying that he should stop me occasionally, either to make an observation, or to call upon me for the translation of a passage.

"Upon arriving at the fourth paragraph, the emperor desired me to pause, and observed, that he was certainly most desirous that some understanding should be entered into with her majesty's government for providing against a contingency so probable as that of the downfall of Turkey; that he was, perhaps, even more interested than England could be in preventing a Turkish catastrophe, but that it was constantly impending; that it might be brought about at any moment, either by an external war, or by a feud between the old Turkish party and that of the 'new superficial French reforms,' or again, by a rising of the Christians, already known to be very impatient of shaking off the Mussulman yoke (*joug*.) As regards the first cause, the emperor said that he had a good right to advert to it, inasmuch as, if he had not stopped the victorious progress of General Diebitsch in 1829, the sultan's authority would have been at an end.

"The emperor likewise desired me to remember that he, and he only, had hastened to the assistance of the sultan, when his dominions were threatened by the Pasha of Egypt.

"I proceeded to read, and was again stopped at the sentence beginning, 'In these circumstances it would hardly be consistent with the friendly feelings,' when the emperor observed, that her majesty's government did not appear to be aware that his chief object was to obtain from her majesty's government some declaration, or even opinion, of what ought not to be permitted in the event of the sudden downfall of Turkey. I said, 'Perhaps your majesty would be good enough to explain your own ideas upon this negative policy.' This his majesty for some time declined doing; he euded, however, by saying:—'Well, there are several things which I never will tolerate; I will begin by ourselves. I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians; having said this, I will say that it never shall be held by the English, or French, or any other great nation. Again, I never will permit an attempt at the reconstruction of a Byzantine empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state; still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe; rather than submit to any of these arrangements I

would go to war, and as long as I have a man and a musket left would carry it on. These,' the emperor said, 'are at once some ideas; now give me some in return.'

"I remarked upon the assurance which would be found respecting the English resolution of never attempting to possess Constantinople, and upon the disinclination of her majesty's government to enter into eventual arrangements; but, upon being still pressed by his imperial majesty, I said—'Well, sir, the idea may not suit your majesty, may not suit her majesty's government, but what is good between man and man is often a good system between one state and another; how would it be, if in the event of any catastrophe occurring in Turkey, Russia and England were to declare that no power should be allowed to take possession of its provinces; that the property should remain, as it were, under seals, until amicable arrangements could be made as to its adjudication?'

"'I will not say,' the emperor observed, 'that such a course would be impossible, but, at least, it would be very difficult; there are no elements of provincial or communal government in Turkey; you would have Turks attacking Christians, Christians falling upon Turks, Christians of different sects quarrelling with each other; in short, chaos and anarchy.'

"'Sir,' I then observed, 'if your majesty will allow me to speak plainly, I would say that the great difference between us is this—that you continue to dwell upon the fall of Turkey, and the arrangements requisite before and after the fall; and that we, on the contrary, look to Turkey remaining where she is, and to the precautions which are necessary for preventing her condition from becoming worse.' 'Ah!' replied the emperor, 'that is what the chancellor is perpetually telling me; but the catastrophe will occur some day, and will take us all un-awares.'

"His imperial majesty spoke of France. 'God forbid,' he said, 'that I should accuse any one wrongfully, but there are circumstances both at Constantinople and Montenegro, which are extremely suspicious; it looks very much as if the French government were endeavouring to embroil us all in the East, hoping in this way the better to arrive at their own objects, one of which, no doubt, is the possession of Tunis.'

"The emperor proceeded to say that, for his own part, he cared very little what line the French might think proper to take in eastern affairs, and that little more than a month ago he had apprised the sultan that if his assistance was required for resisting the menaces of the French, it was entirely at the service of the sultan!

"In a word, the emperor went on to observe, 'As I before told you, all I want is a good understanding with England, and this not as to



what shall, but as to what shall not be done; this point arrived at, the English government and I, I and the English government having entire confidence in one another's views, I care nothing about the rest.'

"I remarked that I felt confident that her majesty's government could be as little disposed as his imperial majesty to tolerate the presence of the French at Constantinople; and being desirous, if possible, of ascertaining whether there was any understanding between the cabinets of St. Petersburg and Vienna, I added, 'But your majesty has forgotten Austria; now all these eastern questions affect her very nearly; she, of course, would expect to be consulted.'

"'Oh!' replied the emperor, greatly to my surprise, 'but you must understand that when I speak of Russia I speak of Austria as well; what suits the one suits the other; our interests as regards Turkey are perfectly identical.' I should have been glad to make another inquiry or two upon this subject, but I did not venture to do so.

"I ought to have stated that in a preceding part of the conversation his majesty, although without any appearance of anger, evinced some surprise at an expression in your lordship's despatch, 'the long-cherished ambition of his (the emperor's) own nation;' he would ask what that phrase meant? It happened that I was prepared for the surprise expressed, and ready to answer any reflection which it might call forth. 'Sir,' I said, 'Lord John Russell is not speaking of your ambition, he speaks of that entertained by your people.'

"The emperor could not at first admit that the phrase was applicable to the Russian nation any more than to himself; when I said, 'Your majesty will permit me to remark that Lord John Russell only repeats what was said thirty years ago by your brother, of glorious memory. In writing confidentially to Lord Castlereagh, in the year 1822, the Emperor Alexander spoke of being the only Russian who resisted the views of his subjects upon Turkey, and of the loss of popularity which he had sustained by this antagonism.'

"This quotation, which, by accident, I could make almost in the words of the letter, seemed to change the current of the emperor's ideas. 'You are quite right,' he said; 'I remember the events to which my late brother alluded. Now it is perfectly true that the Empress Catherine indulged in all sorts of visions of ambition, but it is not less so that these ideas are not at all shared by her descendants. You see how I am behaving towards the sultan. This gentleman (*ce monsieur*) breaks his written word to me, and acts in a manner extremely displeasing to me, and I have contented myself with dispatching an ambassador to Constantinople to demand reparation. Certainly, I could send an

army there if I chose—there is nothing to stop them; but I have contented myself with such a show of force as will prove that I have no intention of being trifled with.'

"'And, sir,' I said, 'you were quite right in refraining from violence; and I hope, upon future occasions, you will act with the same moderation; for your majesty must be sensible that any fresh concessions which have been obtained by the Latins are not referable to ill-will towards you, but to the excessive apprehensions of the French entertained by the unfortunate Turks; besides, sir,' I observed, 'the danger, I will venture to say, of the present moment is not Turkey, but that revolutionary spirit which broke out four years ago, and which in many countries still burns underground; there is the danger, and no doubt a war in Turkey would be the signal for fresh explosions in Italy, Hungary, and elsewhere. We see what is passing at Milan.'

"His imperial majesty spoke of Montenegro, observing that he approved the attitude taken by the Austrian cabinet, and that in these days it could not be permitted that the Turks should ill-treat and even murder a Christian population.

"I ventured to remark that upon this point the wrongs were at least divided between the Turks and the Montenegrins, and that I had full reason for believing that the provocation came from the latter. The emperor, with more impartiality than I had expected, admitted that there had been wrongs on both sides; that certainly the mountaineers were rather addicted to brigandage; and that the taking of Djablak had caused him great indignation. At the same time his majesty said, 'It is impossible not to feel great interest in a population warmly attached to their religion, who have so long kept their ground against the Turks;' and the emperor continued,—'It may be fair to tell you that if any attempts at exterminating those people should be made by Omar Pasha, and should a general rising of the Christians take place in consequence, the sultan will, in all probability, lose his throne; but in this case he falls to rise no more. I wish to support his authority, but, if he loses it, it is gone for ever. The Turkish empire is a thing to be tolerated, not to be reconstructed. In such a cause, I protest to you I will not allow a pistol to be fired.'

"The emperor went on to say that, in the event of the dissolution of the Ottoman empire, he thought it might be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory territorial arrangement than was commonly believed. 'The principalities are,' he said, 'in fact an independent state under my protection; this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria. There seems to be no reason why this province should not form an

independent state. As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance to England of that territory. I can then only say, that if, in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objections to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia: that island might suit you, and I do not know why it should not become an English possession.'

"As I did not wish that the emperor should imagine that an English public servant was caught by this sort of overture, I simply answered that I had always understood that the English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready communication between British India and the mother-country.

"The conversation now drawing towards an end, the emperor expressed his warm attachment to the queen our gracious sovereign, and his respect for her majesty's present advisers. The declarations contained in your lordship's despatch had been, he said, very satisfactory; he could only desire that they should be a little amplified. The terms in which your lordship had spoken of his conduct were, the emperor said, very flattering to him.

"In dismissing me, his imperial majesty said,—'Well, induce your government to write again upon these subjects—to write more fully, and to do so without hesitation. I have confidence in the English government. Ce n'est point un engagement, une convention que je leur demande; c'est un libre échange d'idées, et, au besoin, une parole de *gentleman*; entre nous cela suffit.' I might venture to suggest that some expressions might be used in the despatch to be addressed to me which might have the effect of putting an end to the further consideration, or, at all events, discussion of points which it is highly desirable should not be regarded as offering subject for debate. I may only add, apologetically, that I may possibly have failed in reporting some parts of his majesty's conversation, and that I am conscious of having forgotten the precise terms employed by him with respect to the commercial policy to be observed at Constantinople when no longer held by the Turks. The purport of the observation was, that England and Russia had a common interest in providing for the readiest access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. A copy of your lordship's despatch was left in the emperor's hands.

#### No. 7.

Sir G. H. Scymour to the Earl of Clarendon.—  
(Received March 19th.—Secret and confidential.)

(Extract.) "St. Petersburg, March 9th, 1853.

"When I waited upon Count Nesselrode on the 7th instant, his excellency said that, in pur-

suance of orders which he had received from the emperor, he had to place in my hands a very confidential memorandum which his imperial majesty had caused to be drawn up, and which was intended as an answer to, or a comment upon, the communication which I had made to his imperial majesty on the 21st ult. At first Count Nesselrode invited me to read the paper; he subsequently observed that if, instead of reading it at that time, I chose to take it away, I was at liberty to do so; that, in fact, the paper was intended for my use (*sic.*) Very little conversation upon the subject passed between the chancellor and me. He observed that I should find in the memorandum indications of the emperor's wish to be further informed of the feelings of her majesty's government as to what should not be permitted to take place in the event of any great catastrophe in Turkey; and I, on my side, remarked that, as there is danger in handling hot coals, it appeared to me desirable that communications upon a subject so delicate should not long be kept up.

"I have the honour of enclosing to your lordship a copy of what, under the circumstances which have attended its drawing up and delivery, cannot fail of being considered as one of the most remarkable papers which have been issued, I do not say from the Russian 'chancellerie,' but from the emperor's secret cabinet. It would not be difficult either to controvert some of the facts which the memorandum advances, or to show that the impression under which it has been framed is an incorrect one; that impression being evidently that, in the disputes carried on between Russia and France, her majesty's government has leaned partially to the latter power.

"Three points appear to me to be fully established by the imperial memorandum—the existence of some distinct understanding between the two imperial courts upon the subject of Turkey, and the engagement taken by the Emperor Nicholas neither to possess nor establish himself at Constantinople, nor to enter into arrangements respecting the measures to be taken in the event of the fall of the Ottoman empire without previous concert with her majesty's government. The wording of this engagement, coupled with the conversation which I had the honour of holding with the emperor, leaves upon my mind the impression that, while willing to undertake not to make himself the permanent master of Constantinople, his majesty is intentionally inexplicit as to its temporary occupation. Assuming, as a certain and now acknowledged fact, the existence of an understanding or compact between the two emperors as to Turkish affairs, it becomes of the deepest importance to know the extent of the engagements entered into between them. As to the manner in which it has been concluded, I conjecture that little doubt is to be entertained.



Its basis was, no doubt, laid at some of the meetings between the sovereigns which took place in the autumn; and the scheme has probably been worked out since under the management of Baron Meyendorff, the Russian envoy at the Austrian court, who has been passing the winter at St. Petersburg, and is still here."

(Translation.)

"February 21st, 1853.

"The emperor has, with the liveliest interest and real satisfaction, made himself acquainted with the secret and confidential despatch which Sir Hamilton Seymour communicated to him. He duly appreciates the frankness which has dictated it. He has found therein a fresh proof of the friendly sentiments which her majesty the queen entertains for him.

"In conversing familiarly with the British envoy on the causes which, from one day to another, may bring on the fall of the Ottoman empire, it had by no means entered into the emperor's thoughts to propose for this contingency a plan by which Russia and England should dispose beforehand of the provinces ruled by the sultan—a system altogether arranged; still less a formal agreement to be concluded between the two cabinets. It was purely and simply the emperor's notion that each party should confidentially state to the other less what it wishes than what it does not wish; what would be contrary to English interests, what would be contrary to Russian interests; in order that, the case occurring, they might avoid acting in opposition to each other.

"There is in this neither plans of partition, nor convention to be binding on the other courts. It is merely an interchange of opinions, and the emperor sees no necessity of talking about it before the time. It is precisely for that reason that he took especial care not to make it the object of an official communication from one cabinet to another. By confining himself to speaking of it himself, in the shape of familiar conversation, to the queen's representative, he selected the most friendly and confidential form of opening himself with frankness to her Britannic majesty, being desirous that the result, whatsoever it might be, of these communications, should remain, as it ought to be, a secret between the two sovereigns.

"Consequently, the objections which Lord John Russell raises to any concealment as regards the other powers, in the event of a formal agreement being entered into—of which there is at present no question—fall to the ground; and consequently, also, the inconveniences disappear, which he points out as calculated to contribute to hasten the occurrence of the very event which Russia and England are desirous of averting, if the existence of such an agreement should become prematurely known to Europe and to the subjects of the sultan.

"As regards the object of this wholly confidential interchange of opinions, the possible downfall of the Ottoman empire, doubtless that is but an uncertain and remote contingency. Unquestionably, the period of it cannot be fixed, and no real crisis has arisen to render the realisation of it imminent. But, after all, it may happen; even unexpectedly. Without mentioning the ever-increasing causes of dissolution which are presented by the moral, financial, and administrative condition of the Porte, it may proceed gradually from one, at least, of the two questions mentioned by the English ministry in its secret despatch. In truth, it perceives in those questions only mere disputes, which would not differ in their bearing from difficulties which form the ordinary business of diplomacy. But that kind of dispute may, nevertheless, bring on war, and, with war, the consequences which the emperor apprehends from it. If, for instance, in the affair of the holy places, the *amour-propre* and the menaces of France, continuing to press upon the Porte, should compel it to refuse us all satisfaction, and if, on the other hand, the religious sentiments of the orthodox Greeks, offended by the concessions made to the Latins, should raise the immense majority of his subjects against the sultan. As regards the affair of Montenegro, that, according to the late accounts, may happily be looked upon as settled. But at the time that the emperor had his interview with Sir Hamilton Seymour, it might be apprehended that the question would take a most serious turn. Neither ourselves nor Austria could have allowed a protracted devastation or forced submission of Montenegro, a country which, up to the present time, has continued actually independent of the Porte, a country over which our protection has been extended for more than a century. The horrors which are committed there, those which, by Ottoman fanaticism, have a short time since been extended over Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Herzegovine, gave the other Christian provinces of the Porte only too much reason to anticipate that the same fate awaited them. They were calculated to provoke the general rising of the Christians who live under the sceptre of the Turkish empire, and to hasten its ruin. It is not, then, by any means an idle and imaginary question, a contingency too remote, to which the anxiety of the emperor has called the attention of the queen his ally.

"In the face of the uncertainty and decay of the existing state of things in Turkey, the English cabinet expresses the desire that the greatest forbearance should be shown towards the Porte. The emperor is conscious of never having acted otherwise. The English cabinet itself admits it. It addresses to the emperor, with reference to the numerous proofs of moderation which he has given up to the present

time, praises which his majesty will not accept, because in that he has only listened to his own overbearing conviction. But, in order that the emperor may continue to concur in that system of forbearance, to abstain from any demonstrations—from any peremptory language—it would be necessary that this system should be equally observed by all the powers at once. France has adopted another. By menace she obtained, in opposition to the letter of the treaties, the admission of a ship of the line into the Dardanelles. At the cannon's mouth she twice presented her claims, and her demands for indemnity at Tripoli, and afterwards at Constantinople. Again, in the contest respecting the holy places, by menace she effected the abrogation of that firman and that of the solemn promises which the sultan had given the emperor. With regard to all these acts of violence England observed a complete silence. She neither offered support to the Porte nor addressed remonstrances to the French government. The consequence is very evident. The Porte necessarily concluded from this that from France alone it has everything to hope as well as everything to fear, and that it can evade with impunity the demands of Austria and of Russia. It is thus that Austria and Russia, in order to obtain justice, have seen themselves compelled in their turn, against their will, to act by intimidation, since they have to do with a government which only yields to a peremptory attitude; and it is thus that by its own fault, or rather by that of those who have weakened it in the first instance, the Porte is urged on in a course which enfeebles it still more. Let England, then, employ herself in making it listen to reason. Instead of uniting herself with France against the just demands of Russia, let her avoid supporting, or even appearing to support, the resistance of the Ottoman government. Let her be the first to invite the latter, as she herself considers it essential, to treat its Christian subjects with more equity and humanity. That will be the surest means of relieving the emperor from the obligation of availing himself in Turkey of those rights of traditional protection to which he never has recourse but against his will, and of postponing indefinitely the crisis which the emperor and her majesty the queen are equally anxious to avert.

"In short, the emperor cannot but congratulate himself at having given occasion for this intimate interchange of confidential communications between her majesty and himself. He has found therein valuable assurances, of which he takes note with a lively satisfaction. The two sovereigns have frankly explained to each other what in the extreme case of which they have been treating their respective interests cannot endure. England understands that Russia cannot suffer the establishment at Constantinople of a Christian power sufficiently

strong to control and disquiet her. She declares that for herself she renounces any intention or desire to possess Constantinople. The emperor equally disclaims any wish or design of establishing himself there. England promises that she will enter into no arrangement for determining the measures to be taken in the event of the fall of the Turkish empire, without a previous understanding with the emperor. The emperor, on his side, willingly contracts the same engagement. As he is aware that in such a case he can equally reckon upon Austria, who is bound by her promises to concert with him, he regards with less apprehension the catastrophe which he still desires to prevent and avert as much as it shall depend on him to do so. No less precious to him are the proofs of friendship and personal confidence on the part of her majesty the queen, which Sir Hamilton Seymour has been directed on this occasion to impart to him. He sees in them the surest guarantee against the contingency which his foresight had deemed it right to point out to that of the English government.

## No. 8.

Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon.—  
(Received March 19.—Secret and confidential.)

"St. Petersburg, March 9th, 1853.

"My Lord,—As it appears very evident that the secret memorial which, by a despatch of this day, I have the honour of bringing to your lordship's knowledge, has been drawn up under a complete misapprehension (real or assumed) of the part taken by her majesty's government in the late Turkish affairs, I have thought it my duty to address to Count Nesselrode the private and confidential letter of which I beg to enclose a copy to your lordship.

"I have, &c.,

"G. H. SEYMOUR."

(Enclosure in No. 8.)

Sir G. H. Seymour to Count Nesselrode.—  
(Private and confidential.)

"St. Petersburg, Feb. 24th (March 8th), 1853.

"My dear Count Nesselrode,—There is an observation respecting the very important memorandum placed yesterday by your excellency in my hands, which I feel obliged to make. I am most anxious to observe that this paper must have been drawn up under the impression of English policy at Constantinople having been very different from what in reality it has been. I can affirm, conscientiously and distinctly, that the object proposed to themselves, as well by the late as by her majesty's present government, has been to act as a common friend in the contests between the allied governments; and that, far from having inclined, as has been stated, to France in the course of the late critical transactions, it has been the desire of the queen's advisers (to the full ex-



tent permitted to a government compelled to observe a neutral attitude) that ample satisfaction should be given to the demands which his imperial majesty's government were justified in making. This assertion I should have no difficulty in substantiating by written evidence; and I will add that, in any just demand which England may have to make upon a foreign cabinet, I only desire that the conduct of a friendly power towards us may be that which quietly and unostentatiously the English government has pursued in the complicated question of the holy places with regard to the claims of Russia. I request your excellency's good offices for causing this, the real state of the case, to be rightly understood; at all events, for preventing a contrary belief from being adopted until it shall be clearly ascertained whether or not my statement is correct.

"I have, &c.,

"G. H. SEYMOUR."

No. 9.

Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon.—  
(Received March 19.—Secret and confidential.)

"St. Petersburg, March 10th, 1853.

"My Lord,—I have just had a very amicable and satisfactory conversation with the chancellor, who, under the impression of my letter of the 8th inst. having originated in a misconception with regard to the emperor's memorandum, had desired to see me. We read over the memorandum together, and Count Nesselrode observed that all that was desired here was, that, while appealing to the emperor's magnanimity and feelings of justice, her majesty's government should employ some effort towards opening the eyes of the French ministers as to the false course into which they have been led by M. de Lavalette.

"To this I replied that such had been the conduct pursued by her majesty's government, not on one occasion, but on various occasions; and that, as a specimen of the language held by your lordship's predecessor to the French government, I would beg to read to him an extract from one of Lord John Russell's despatches. I read accordingly the five or six lines of Lord John Russell's despatch to Lord Cowley of January 28th, beginning 'But her majesty's government cannot avoid perceiving,' and concluding with 'the relations of friendly powers,' which passage I had copied out and taken with me.

"Count Nesselrode expressed his warm satisfaction at finding that her majesty's government had given such excellent advice to the French government; and only regretted that he had not long ago been put in possession of evidence so conclusive as to the part taken upon the question of the holy places by her majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs.

"In conclusion the chancellor requested that

I would consider the passage in the imperial memorandum commencing with the words, '*Que l'Angleterre s'emploie donc,*' as expressing a hope, and not as implying a reproach—as referable to the course which it was desired should be taken by her majesty's government, and not as alluding to that which had been pursued.

"I have, &c.,

"G. H. SEYMOUR."

No. 10.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir G. H. Seymour.—  
(Secret and confidential.)

"Foreign-office, March 23rd, 1853.

"Sir,—Your despatches of the 21st and 22nd ult. have been laid before the queen, and I am commanded to express her majesty's entire approval of the discretion and judgment displayed by you in the conversations which you had the honour to hold with the emperor. I need not assure you that the opinions of his imperial majesty have received from her majesty's government the anxious and deliberate consideration that their importance demands; and, although her majesty's government feel compelled to adhere to the principles and the policy laid down in Lord J. Russell's despatch of the 9th of February, yet they gladly comply with the emperor's wish that the subject should be further and frankly discussed. The generous confidence exhibited by the emperor entitles his imperial majesty to the most cordial declaration of opinion on the part of her majesty's government, who are fully aware that, in the event of any understanding with reference to future contingencies being expedient, or indeed possible, the word of his imperial majesty would be preferable to any convention that could be framed.

"Her majesty's government persevere in the belief that Turkey still possesses the elements of existence, and they consider that recent events have proved the correctness of the opinion expressed in the despatch of my predecessor, that there was no sufficient cause for intimating to the sultan that he cannot keep peace at home or preserve friendly relations with his neighbours.

"Her majesty's government have accordingly learnt with sincere satisfaction that the emperor considers himself even more interested than England in preventing a Turkish catastrophe; because they are convinced that upon the policy pursued by his imperial majesty towards Turkey will mainly depend the hastening or the indefinite postponement of an event which every power in Europe is concerned in averting. Her majesty's government are convinced that nothing is more calculated to precipitate that event than the constant prediction of its being near at hand; that nothing can be more fatal to the vitality of Turkey than the assumption of its rapid and inevitable decay; and that if the opinion of the emperor that the days of the Turkish

empire were numbered became notorious, its downfall must occur even sooner than his imperial majesty now appears to expect.

"But, on the supposition that, from unavoidable causes, the catastrophe did take place, her majesty's government entirely share the opinion of the emperor that the occupation of Constantinople by either of the great powers would be incompatible with the present balance of power and the maintenance of peace in Europe, and must at once be regarded as impossible; that there are no elements for the reconstruction of a Byzantine empire; that the systematic misgovernment of Greece offers no encouragement to extend its territorial dominion; and that, as there are no materials for provincial or communal government, anarchy would be the result of leaving the provinces of Turkey to themselves, or permitting them to form separate republics. The emperor has announced that, sooner than permit a settlement of the question by any one of these methods, he will be prepared for war at every hazard; and, however much her majesty's government may be disposed to agree in the soundness of the views taken by his imperial majesty, yet they consider that the simple predetermination of what shall not be tolerated does little towards solving the real difficulties, or settling in what manner it would be practicable, or even desirable, to deal with the heterogeneous materials of which the Turkish empire is composed. England desires no territorial aggrandisement, and could be no party to a previous arrangement from which she was to derive any such benefit. England could be no party to any understanding, however general, that was to be kept secret from other powers; but her majesty's government believe that no arrangements could control events, and that no understanding could be kept secret. They would, in the opinion of her majesty's government, be the signal for preparation for intrigues of every description, and for revolts among the Christian subjects of the Porte. Each power and each party would endeavour to secure its future interests, and the dissolution of the Turkish empire would be preceded by a state of anarchy which must aggravate every difficulty, if it did not render a peaceful solution of the question impossible. The only mode by which such a solution could be attempted would be that of an European congress, but that only affords an additional reason for desiring that the present order of things in Turkey should be maintained, as her majesty's government cannot without alarm reflect on the jealousies that would then be evoked, the impossibility of reconciling the different ambitions and the divergent interests that would be called into play, and the certainty that the treaties of 1815 must then be open to revision, when France might be prepared to risk the chances of a European war to get rid of the obligations which she considers injurious to her

national honour, and which, having been imposed by victorious enemies, are a constant source of irritation to her.

"The main object of her majesty's government—that to which their efforts have been and always will be directed—is the preservation of peace; and they desire to uphold the Turkish empire, from their conviction that no great question can be agitated in the East without becoming a source of discord in the West, and that every great question in the West will assume a revolutionary character, and embrace a revision of the entire social system, for which the continental governments are certainly in no state of preparation. The emperor is fully cognizant of the materials that are in constant fermentation beneath the surface of society, and their readiness to burst forth even in times of peace; and his imperial majesty will probably, therefore, not dissent from the opinion that the first cannon-shot may be the signal for a state of things more disastrous even than those calamities which war inevitably brings in its train. But such a war would be the result of the dissolution and dismemberment of the Turkish empire; and hence the anxiety of her majesty's government to avert the catastrophe. Nor can they admit that the signs of Turkish decay are now either more evident or more rapid than of late years. There is still great energy and great wealth in Turkey; a disposition to improve the system of government is not wanting; corruption, though unfortunately great, is still not of a character, nor carried to an extent, that threatens the existence of the state; the treatment of Christians is not harsh, and the toleration exhibited by the Porte towards this portion of its subjects might serve as an example to some governments who look with contempt upon Turkey as a barbarous power.

"Her majesty's government believe that Turkey only requires forbearance on the part of its allies, and a determination not to press their claims in a manner humiliating to the dignity and independence of the sultan that friendly support, in short, that with states, as with individuals, the weak are entitled to expect from the strong—in order not only to prolong its existence, but to remove all cause of alarm respecting its dissolution. It is in this work of benevolence and of sound European policy that her majesty's government are desirous of co-operating with the emperor. They feel entire confidence in the rectitude of his imperial majesty's intentions, and, as they have the satisfaction of thinking that the interests of Russia and England in the East are completely identical, they entertain an earnest hope that a similar policy there will prevail, and tend to strengthen the alliance between the two countries, which it is alike the object of her majesty and her majesty's government to promote. You will give a copy of this despatch to the chancellor or to the emperor, in the event of



your again having the honour to be received by his imperial majesty.

"I am, &c.,  
"CLARENDON."

No. 11.

Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon.—  
(Received March 26.—Secret and confidential.)

"St. Petersburg, March 12th, 1853.

"My Lord,—The chancellor sent for me this morning, when he placed in my hands a copy of the memorandum which was brought to your lordship's knowledge by my despatch of the 9th inst. Upon this copy the emperor had written in pencil that he was sorry to find that Sir Hamilton Seymour had considered a passage in the paper as reflecting upon the conduct of her majesty's government; that no reproach had been intended, and that the chancellor would do well to see me and to state that if it should be my wish, the paper might be taken back and altered. After a few moments' reflection it occurred to me that the explanations which I had received were sufficient, so that a record could be obtained of the emperor's amicable intentions, and that the paper, if taken back, might be altered in more than one of its passages; I therefore stated that, instead of changing the memorandum, I would suggest that his excellency should write me a few lines explanatory of the purport of the passage which I had considered objectionable. To this the chancellor at once acceded, and it only remained for me to request that his excellency would be kind enough to express to the emperor how sensibly I felt his gracious solicitude to efface a disagreeable impression.

"I have, &c.,  
"G. H. SEYMOUR."

No. 12.

Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon.—  
(Received April 4th.—Secret and confidential.)

"St. Petersburg, March 16th, 1853.

"My Lord,—With reference to the despatch marked 'secret and confidential,' which I had the honour of addressing to your lordship on the 12th inst., I beg to transmit the letter which Count Nesselrode undertook to write to me expressive of the emperor's willingness to change the passage in his memorandum which I had considered open to some misinterpretation.

"I have, &c.,  
"G. H. SEYMOUR."

"March 3 (15), 1853.

"I have the pleasure, my dear Sir Hamilton, to add to the explanation which I had the honour to offer to you verbally, that having communicated your doubts to the emperor, his majesty has authorised me to modify the passage which had caused you to entertain them, at least if you should consider it necessary. The emperor is, above all things, desirous of re-

moving from a communication altogether personal and friendly with the government of her majesty the queen what might give occasion even to an erroneous interpretation, which would be contrary to the intentions by which it was dictated, as also to the object which his majesty proposes to himself.

"Be pleased, &c.,  
"NESSELRODE."

No. 13.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir G. H. Seymour.—  
(Secret and confidential.)

"Foreign-office, April 5th, 1853.

"Sir,—Your despatches of the 9th, 10th, and 12th ultimo have been laid before the queen.

"My despatch of the 23rd ultimo will have furnished you with answers upon all the principal points alluded to in the memorandum which Count Nesselrode placed in your hands; but it is my duty to inform you that that important and remarkable document was received by her majesty's government with feelings of sincere satisfaction, as a renewed proof of the emperor's confidence and friendly feelings; and her majesty's government desire to convey their acknowledgments to his imperial majesty for having thus placed on record the opinions he expressed at the interview with which you were honoured by his imperial majesty. Her majesty's government do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by prolonging a correspondence upon a question with respect to which a complete understanding has been established; and I have only, therefore, further to state that her majesty's government observe with pleasure that, in the opinion of the emperor, the fall of the Turkish empire is looked upon as an uncertain and distant contingency, and that no real crisis has occurred to render its realisation imminent. Her majesty's government have never any wish to disguise their policy, which they trust is honest and straightforward towards all other countries; but on such a question they would particularly regret that any misapprehension existed on the mind of the emperor, and they accordingly approve the confidential note which you addressed to Count Nesselrode, for the purpose of rectifying some ideas which reflected upon the course pursued by her majesty's government. On the subject of the *Charlemagne* coming up to the Bosphorus a correspondence took place between the English and French governments, and, although the Porte gave its sanction unconditionally, the eventual solution of the question was in conformity with the opinion of her Majesty's government, and it was settled that the *Charlemagne* should convey M. de Lavalette to Constantinople, under which circumstances it was stated that the passage of the French ship of war would not be further remonstrated against by her majesty's government, but that it must not be drawn into a precedent.

"As regards the holy places, you are aware of the instructions given to Colonel Rose for his guidance at the Porte, and of the despatch addressed to her majesty's ambassador at Paris, which was communicated to the French government, and I have further to inform you that Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe was instructed to bear in mind that her majesty's government, without professing to give an opinion on the subject, were not insensible to the superior claims of Russia, both as respected the treaty obligations of Turkey, and the loss of moral influence that the emperor would sustain throughout his dominions, if, in the position occupied by his imperial majesty with reference to the Greek church, he was to yield any privileges it had hitherto enjoyed to the Latin church, of which the emperor of the French claimed to be the protector.

"With respect to the advice which the emperor recommends should be given to the Porte by her majesty's government, you will inform the chancellor that Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe was directed to return to his post, and a special character was given to his mission by an autograph letter from her majesty, under the impression that the Porte would be better disposed to listen to moderate counsels when offered by one of Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe's high position and great knowledge and experience of Turkish affairs; and he was particularly desired to advise the Porte to treat its Christian subjects with the utmost leniency.

"Upon this latter point her majesty's government are inclined to believe that the Turkish government are at length awakened to a sense of their own true interests. At the beginning of this year we know that orders were sent to Kiamil Pasha to proceed instantly to Bosnia in order to redress Christian grievances, and to empower the Christian communities to build churches. About the same time, also, the Porte sent the strongest instructions to Omar Pasha to act with unvaried moderation and humanity towards his enemies (the Montenegrins); and the English vice-consul at Scutari confirmed all the previous statements that the inhabitants of Montenegro committed an unprovoked attack on the troops and subjects of the Porte; while the accounts that have reached her majesty's government respecting the atrocities said to have been committed by the Turks in Bosnia, Herzegovine, and Montenegro are extracted from Austrian newspapers, and must necessarily, therefore, be received with caution.

"I have only in conclusion to add that, as her majesty and the emperor have now mutually renewed the assurances of their intention to uphold the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire, it is the earnest desire of her majesty's government that the representatives of the two powers may henceforward co-operate together in carrying out this intention by giving

similar advice in the same friendly spirit to the Porte.

"You are instructed to read this despatch to the chancellor, and to furnish him with a copy, should he desire it.

"I am, &c.,

"CLARENDON."

No. 14.

Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon.—  
(Received May 2nd.—Secret and confidential.)

(Extract.) "St. Petersburg, April 20th, 1853.

"The emperor on rising from the table when I had the honour of dining at the palace on the 18th inst., desired me to follow him into the next room. His majesty then said that he had wished to state to me the real and sincere satisfaction which he received from your lordship's despatch, marked 'secret and confidential,' of the 23rd ultimo.

"It had been, his majesty said, most agreeable to him to find that the overtures which he had addressed to her majesty's government had been responded to in the same friendly spirit in which they were made; that, to use a former expression, there was nothing in which he placed so much reliance as '*la parole d'un gentilhomme*;' that he felt that the relations of the two courts stood upon a better basis now that a clear understanding had been obtained as to points which, if left in doubt, might have been productive of misintelligence, and, as his majesty was pleased to add, he felt obliged to me for having contributed towards bringing about this friendly *entente*. And his majesty said, 'I beg you to understand, that what I have pledged myself to will be equally binding on my successor; there now exist memorandums of my intentions, and whatever I have promised, my son, if the changes alluded to should occur in his time, would be as ready to perform as his father would have been.' The emperor proceeded to state that he would very frankly offer an observation or two—it might be a criticism—on your lordship's despatch.

"The despatch spoke of the fall of the Turkish empire as an uncertain and distant event. He would remark that the one term excluded the other; uncertain it was certainly, but for that reason not necessarily remote. He desired it might be, but he was not sure that it might so prove. His majesty desired further to observe that he could not doubt that her majesty's government had taken too favourable a view of the state of the Christian population in Turkey; the sultan might have intended to better their condition, might have given orders in that sense, but he was quite certain that his commands had not been attended to.

"Upon my remarking that her majesty's government were understood to receive very accurate reports of what passes in Turkey, the emperor replied, with considerable animation, that he called this fact in question; that he be-



lieved, on the contrary, that some of the English consular agents were incorrect in their reports. He would only refer to Bulgaria; the greatest discontent prevailed there, and his majesty would affirm that were it not for his continued efforts to repress the manifestation of feelings of the sort, the Bulgarians would some time since have been in insurrection.

"His majesty proceeded to contrast the threatening attitude which had been assumed by Count Leiningen with the peaceable character of Prince Mentschikoff's mission, not, however, that he desired to blame the Emperor of Austria, a noble prince, whom he loved sincerely, and all of whose acts he approved; the difference existed in circumstances, and when Montenegro was threatened with utter devastation, the Emperor of Austria was obliged to act with energy. His majesty would, he said, have acted in the same manner.

"I am desirous of remarking here that part of the emperor's observations were, it was obvious, addressed to me personally, and were intended as a reply as well to an allusion which I had made as to religious intolerance in Tuscany, as to my comments to the chancellor upon the conduct of the Austrian cabinet with regard to the late confiscatory measures in Lombardy.

"His majesty, after observing that, according to the accounts just received (those of the 29th ult.), little or no progress had been made towards an adjustment of difficulties at Constantinople, said that as yet he had not moved a ship or a battalion; that he had not done so from motives of consideration for the sultan and from economical motives; but that he would repeat that he had no intention of being trifled with, and that if the Turks did not yield to reason, they would have to give way to an approach of danger.

"I ventured to remark to the emperor that it was only by the despatches just arrived that he had received intelligence of the landing at Pera of the French ambassador, who was understood to be a party to the arrangements about to be concluded; the indirect answer, however, returned to me by his majesty and the expressions which he used lead me to apprehend that this consideration did not receive the attention of which in fairness it appears to me deserving.

#### No. 15.

Sir G. H. Seymour to the Earl of Clarendon.—  
(Received May 2nd.—Secret and confidential.)

"St. Petersburg, April 21st, 1853.

"My Lord,—I have had the honour of receiving your lordship's despatch marked 'secret and confidential,' of the 5th inst., which, in obedience to your lordship's orders, I communicated to Count Nesselrode on the 15th inst.

"His excellency, before the arrival of this messenger, had desired to see me for the pur-

pose of communicating to me a paper which had been drawn up by the emperor's desire, and which was to be considered as an answer to your lordship's despatch of the 23rd ult.

"This document, which I beg to transmit in original, was accordingly placed in my hands by the chancellor, who observed that he had previously thought that it would close the correspondence, but that it was possible that the fresh despatch which I had brought to his knowledge might, upon being laid before the emperor, call for some fresh observations on the part of his majesty.

"The only passage in the enclosed paper to which Count Nesselrode was desirous of drawing my attention was that in which an observation is made respecting the treatment of the Christian population as described by English or by Russian agents.

"I remarked, in reply, that the point was the less material, her majesty's government being (as his excellency had been made aware) as desirous as the imperial cabinet could be that no effort should be wanting on the part of the Porte to remove any and every cause of complaint which could be made in justice by the sultan's Christian subjects.

"Your lordship will perhaps allow me to observe that, supposing the present crisis in Turkish affairs to pass over, an intimation is made in the enclosed paper which, if taken up and embodied in a joint resolution by all the great powers, might possibly be the means of long averting a catastrophe which, happen when it may, will probably have disastrous consequences even to those to whom it may be considered the most profitable.

"Since the preceding part of this despatch was written, the chancellor has intimated to me that the emperor, being of opinion that the paper which I now enclose, followed up by the conversation which I had the honour of holding with his majesty on the 18th, may be considered as replying to any points touched upon in your lordship's despatch, does not propose to offer any fresh observation upon the subjects which have been under discussion. His excellency does not conceal from me his satisfaction at this resolution, these subjects being, as he remarked, of so delicate a nature that there are always objections to their being brought under discussion.

I have, &c.,

"G. H. SEYMOUR."

(Translation.)

"The emperor has, with lively satisfaction, made himself acquainted with Lord Clarendon's despatch of the 23rd of March. His majesty congratulates himself on perceiving that his views and those of the English cabinet entirely coincide on the subject of the political combinations which it would be chiefly necessary to avoid in the extreme case of the contingency

occurring in the East, which Russia and England have equally at heart to prevent, or, at all events, to delay as long as possible. Sharing generally the opinions expressed by Lord Clarendon on the necessity of the prolonged maintenance of the existing state of things in Turkey, the emperor, nevertheless, cannot abstain from advertng to a special point which leads him to suppose that the information received by the British government is not altogether in accordance with ours. It refers to the humanity and the toleration to be shown by Turkey in her manner of treating her Christian subjects.

"Putting aside many other examples to the contrary of an old date, it is, for all that, notorious that recently the cruelties committed by the Turks in Bosnia forced hundreds of Christian families to seek refuge in Anstria. In other respects, without wishing on this occasion to enter upon a discussion as to the symptoms of decay, more or less evident, presented by the Ottoman power, or the greater or less degree of vitality which its internal constitution may retain, the emperor will readily agree that the best means of upholding the duration of the Turkish government is not to harass it by overbearing demands, supported in a manner humiliating to its independence and its dignity. His majesty is disposed, as he has ever been, to act upon this system, with the clear understanding, however, that the same rule of conduct shall be observed, without distinction, and unanimously, by each of the great powers, and that none of them shall take advantage of the weakness of the Porte to obtain from it concessions which might turn to the prejudice of the others. This principle being laid down, the emperor declares that he is ready to labour, in concert with England, at the common work of prolonging the existence of the Turkish empire, setting aside all cause of alarm on the subject of its dissolution. He readily accepts the evidence offered by the British cabinet of entire confidence in the nprightness of his sentiments, and the hope that, on this basis, his alliance with England cannot fail to become stronger.

"St. Petersburg, April 3rd (15th), 1853."

The following is the memorandum by Count Nesselrode delivered to her majesty's government, and founded on communications received from the Emperor of Russia subsequently to his imperial majesty's visit to England in June, 1844:—

(Translation.)

"Russia and England are mutually penetrated with the conviction that it is for their common interest that the Ottoman Porte should maintain itself in the state of independence and of territorial possession which at present constitute that empire, as that political combination is

the one which is most compatible with the general interest of the maintenance of peace. Being agreed on this principle, Russia and England have an equal interest in uniting their efforts in order to keep up the existence of the Ottoman empire, and to avert all the dangers which can place in jeopardy its safety. With this object, the essential point is to suffer the Porte to live in repose, without needlessly disturbing it by diplomatic bickerings, and without interfering unless with absolute necessity in its internal affairs. In order to carry out skilfully this system of forbearance, with a view to the well-understood interest of the Porte, two things must not be lost sight of. They are these:—

"In the first place, the Porte has a constant tendency to extricate itself from the engagements imposed upon it by the treaties which it has concluded with other powers. It hopes to do so with impunity, because it reckons on the mutual jealousy of the cabinets. It thinks that if it fails in its engagements towards one of them, the rest will espouse its quarrel, and will screen it from all responsibility. It is essential not to confirm the Porte in this delusion. Every time that it fails in its obligations towards one of the great powers, it is the interest of all the rest to make it sensible of its error, and seriously to exhort it to act rightly towards the cabinet which demands just reparation. As soon as the Porte shall perceive that it is not supported by the other cabinets, it will give way, and the differences which have arisen will be arranged in a conciliatory manner, without any conflict resulting from them.

"There is a second cause of complication which is inherent in the situation of the Porte; it is the difficulty which exists in reconciling the respect due to the sovereign authority of the sultan, founded on the Mnsulman law, with the forbearance required by the interests of the Christian population of that empire. This difficulty is real. In the present state of feeling in Europe, the cabinets cannot see with indifference the Christian populations in Turkey exposed to flagrant acts of oppression and religious intolerance. It is necessary constantly to make the Ottoman ministers sensible of this truth, and to persuade them that they can only reckon on the friendship and on the support of the great powers on the condition that they treat the Christian subjects of the Porte with toleration and with mildness. While insisting on this truth, it will be the duty of the foreign representatives, on the other hand, to exert all their influence to maintain the Christian subjects of the Porte in submission to the sovereign authority. It will be the duty of the foreign representatives, guided by these principles, to act among themselves in a perfect spirit of agreement. If they address remonstrances to the Porte, those remonstrances must bear a real character of unanimity, though divested of one of exclusive dictation. By per-



severing in this system with calmness and moderation, the representatives of the great cabinets of Europe will have the best chance of succeeding in the steps which they may take, without giving occasion for complications which might affect the tranquillity of the Ottoman empire. If all the great powers frankly adopt this line of conduct, they will have a well-founded expectation of preserving the existence of Turkey. However, they must not conceal from themselves how many elements of dissolution that empire contains within itself. Unforeseen circumstances may hasten its fall, without its being in the power of the friendly cabinets to prevent it. As it is not given to human foresight to settle beforehand a plan of action for such or such unlooked-for case, it would be premature to discuss eventualities which may never be realised. In the uncertainty which hovers over the future, a single fundamental idea seems to admit of a really practical application; it is that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common.

"That understanding will be the more beneficial inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria. Between her and Russia there exists already an entire conformity of principles in regard to the affairs of Turkey, in a common interest of conservatism and of peace. In order to render their union more efficacious, there would remain nothing to be desired but that England should be seen to associate herself thereto with the same view. The reason which recommends the establishment of this agreement is very simple. On land Russia exercises in regard to Turkey a preponderant action. On sea England occupies the same position. Isolated, the action of these two powers might do much mischief. United, it can produce a real benefit; thence the advantage of coming to a previous understanding before having recourse to action.

"This notion was in principle agreed upon during the emperor's last residence in London. The result was the eventual engagement that if anything unforeseen occurred in Turkey, Russia and England should previously concert together as to the course which they should pursue in common. The object for which Russia and England will have to come to an understanding may be expressed in the following manner:—

"1. To seek to maintain the existence of the Ottoman empire in its present state so long as that political combination shall be possible.

"2. If we foresee that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists, and, in conjunction with each other, to see that the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of that empire shall not

injuriously affect either the security of their own states and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.

"For the purpose thus stated, the policy of Russia and of Austria, as we have already said, is closely united by the principle of perfect identity. If England, as the principal maritime power, acts in concert with them, it is to be supposed that France will find herself obliged to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburg, London, and Vienna. Conflict between the great powers being thus obviated, it is to be hoped that the peace of Europe will be maintained even in the midst of such serious circumstances. It is to secure this object of common interest, if the case occurs, that, as the emperor agreed with her Britannic majesty's ministers during his residence in England, the previous understanding which Russia and England shall establish between themselves must be directed."

The following facts form a singular commentary upon the foregoing correspondence. Only two days before the first of these conversations with the Emperor Nicholas, it became Sir Hamilton Seymour's duty to report to the British government that he had reason to believe that 144,000 men were ordered to march to the frontier of the Danubian provinces, and, during the whole course of these negotiations, the mission of Prince Mentshikoff, at Constantinople, was in preparation or in progress. Thus, while the emperor was expressing great concern for the welfare of "the sick man," he was deliberately preparing to murder him, and divide his possessions with England and Austria, if they would countenance his crime. The proposals of the czar were equally unsuccessful in another direction. On the failure of the secret and confidential proposals of the Emperor Nicholas to the British ministry, he directed his overtures to France, and received from the Emperor Louis Napoleon a similar refusal. It was suspected that Nicholas endeavoured to tempt the French government into his conspiracy by offering it a portion of the Prussian dominions. It has been justly observed, that though this correspondence was of an essentially confidential nature, and probably never intended to meet the gaze of the world, yet that there is not in it one remark on the part of the British government, or on that of their envoy at St. Petersburg, that this country need blush to avow. Politicians were also loud in noticing the indifference,

if not contempt, of the Emperor Nicholas to the state of Prussia, which he did not once allude to, as if its opposition to his scheme was a matter of small importance. Austria was treated as an accomplice, or as a state that dared not resist the will of the autocrat.

"Our interests," he exclaimed, "as regards Turkey are perfectly identical." The wheels of Time were rolling onward, and as the dim future settled into the tangible present, we shall find the czar over-confident in his conclusions on this point.

## CHAPTER VIII.

CONDUCT OF NICHOLAS IN REFERENCE TO THE FINAL ULTIMATUM; ENGLISH AND FRENCH DECLARATIONS OF WAR; TURKISH FABLE; ADDRESSES PRESENTED TO QUEEN VICTORIA BY THE LORDS AND COMMONS; DAY OF PRAYER AND HUMILIATION; DREAM OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS; THE RUSSIANS CROSS TO THE RIGHT BANK OF THE DANUBE, AND TAKE POSSESSION OF THE DOBRUDSCHA; CONFLICTS AT TULTSCHA AND MATSCHIN; THE WALL OF TRAJAN; TURKISH EXCURSIONS FROM KALAFAT; AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA; BOMBARDMENT OF ODESSA.

IN the commencement of the last chapter we mentioned that, in the month of February, the allied powers had dispatched a final ultimatum to St. Petersburg. It demanded that the emperor should cause his troops to abandon the principalities before the end of April, and allowed him six days for consideration. Nicholas learnt the nature of the summons before the actual arrival of the courier who bore it, and is reported to have said, contemptuously, that he could answer it as readily in six minutes as in six days. He then left St. Petersburg for Helsingfors, a fortified seaport town, the present capital of Finland, but in the possession of Russia, and defended by the strong citadel Sveaborg. But the emperor had given Count Nesselrode instructions to make known his pleasure to the consuls of France and England, who, in the absence of the ambassadors, are the representatives of their respective governments in Russia. It was stern and brief—namely, that to the summons of the allied powers *no answer would be given by the imperial court!*

Europe now stood upon the vestibule of the temple of the grim genius of war. A convention had already been entered into between France and England on one side, and Turkey on the other, to regulate the military operations, and to bind the latter not to make peace without the consent of the former.\* On the 27th of March, the

French minister of state read to the *Corps Legislatif*, in the name of the emperor, a message, announcing that the final resolve of the cabinet of St. Petersburg had placed Russia in a state of war with France. A similar communication to the senate was received with enthusiasm and cheers of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" On the same day, her majesty Queen Victoria sent a message to the English House of Commons. It was to be communicated by Lord John Russell; and before five o'clock there was an unusually large attendance of the members of that august assembly which represents the wealth, intelligence, and power of the people of England. At five, his lordship walked down to the bar from his usual seat on the ministerial bench, and the murmur of conversation subsided into the hush of expectancy. The speaker having requested him, in the usual form, to bring up the message, Lord John placed the document in the hands of the right honourable gentleman, who proceeded to read it to the house amidst the most profound silence. It was as follows:—

"VICTORIA REGINA.—Her majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Commons that the negotiations in which her majesty, in concert with her allies, has for some time past been engaged with his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, have terminated, and that her majesty feels the month of April, 1854. The conduct of the Emperor of Russia produced many results he did not anticipate; but probably what he least dreamed of was the friendly alliance of France and England.

\* The utmost harmony existed between the courts of France and England; but the convention or bond of alliance, between the Queen of England and the Emperor of France, was not signed and ratified until



bound to afford active assistance to her ally the sultan against unprovoked aggression.

"Her majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Commons copies of such papers, in addition to those already communicated to parliament, as will afford the fullest information with regard to the subject of these negotiations. It is a consolation to her majesty to reflect that no endeavours have been wanting on her part to preserve to her subjects the blessings of peace.

"Her majesty's just expectations have been disappointed, and her majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and devotion of her faithful commons, and on the exertions of her brave and loyal subjects, to support her in her determination to employ the power and resources of the nation for protecting the dominions of the sultan against the encroachments of Russia."

The consideration of the queen's message was deferred until the 31st; but the next day (the 28th of March) the following declaration of war, on the part of England, was contained in the supplement of the *London Gazette*. According to the modern customs of nations, no declaration of war is sent to the enemy; but the announcement of the sovereign's determination to his or her parliament and subjects, and to the world, is regarded as a sufficient publication of the fact to all whom it may concern:—

(Declaration.)

"It is with deep regret that her majesty announces the failure of her anxious and protracted endeavours to preserve for her people and for Europe the blessings of peace. The unprovoked aggression of the Emperor of Russia against the Sublime Porte has been persisted in with such disregard of consequences, that after the rejection by the Emperor of Russia of terms which the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Prussia, as well as her majesty, considered just and equitable, her majesty is compelled by a sense of what is due to the honour of her crown, to the interests of her people, and to the independence of the states of Europe, to come forward in defence of an ally whose territory is invaded, and whose dignity and independence are assailed.

"Her majesty, in justification of the course she is about to pursue, refers to the transactions in which her majesty has been engaged. The Emperor of Russia had some cause of complaint against the sultan with reference to the settlement, which his highness had sanctioned, of the conflicting claims of the Greek and Latin churches to a portion of the holy places

of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. To the complaint of the Emperor of Russia on this head justice was done, and her majesty's ambassador at Constantinople had the satisfaction of promoting an arrangement to which no exception was taken by the Russian government. But, while the Russian government repeatedly assured the government of her majesty that the mission of Prince Mentschikoff to Constantinople was exclusively directed to the settlement of the question of the holy places at Jerusalem, Prince Mentschikoff himself pressed upon the Porte other demands of a far more serious and important character, the nature of which he in the first instance endeavoured, as far as possible, to conceal from her majesty's ambassador. And these demands, thus studiously concealed, affected, not the privileges of the Greek church at Jerusalem, but the position of many millions of Turkish subjects in their relations to their sovereign the sultan. These demands were rejected by the spontaneous decision of the Sublime Porte.

"Two assurances had been given to her majesty—one, that the mission of Prince Mentschikoff only regarded the holy places; the other, that his mission would be of a conciliatory character. In both respects her majesty's just expectations were disappointed. Demands were made which, in the opinion of the sultan, extended to the substitution of the Emperor of Russia's authority for his own over a large portion of his subjects, and those demands were enforced by a threat; and when her majesty learnt that, on announcing the termination of his mission, Prince Mentschikoff declared that the refusal of his demands would impose upon the imperial government the necessity of seeking a guarantee by its own power, her majesty thought proper that her fleet should leave Malta, and, in co-operation with that of his majesty the Emperor of the French, take up its station in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. So long as the negotiation bore an amicable character her majesty refrained from any demonstration of force. But when, in addition to the assembling of large military forces on the frontier of Turkey, the ambassador of Russia intimated that serious consequences would ensue from the refusal of the sultan to comply with unwarrantable demands, her majesty deemed it right, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, to give an unquestionable proof of her determination to support the sovereign rights of the sultan.

"The Russian government has maintained that the determination of the emperor to occupy the principalities was taken in consequence of the advance of the fleets of England and France. But the menace of invasion of the Turkish territory was conveyed in Count Nesselrode's note to Redschid Pasha of the 19th (31st) of May, and re-stated in his despatch to Baron Brunow

of the 20th of May (1st of June), which announced the determination of the Emperor of Russia to order his troops to occupy the principalities, if the Porte did not within a week comply with the demands of Russia. The despatch to her majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, authorising him in certain specified contingencies to send for the British fleet, was dated the 31st of May, and the order sent direct from England to her majesty's admiral to proceed to the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles was dated the 2nd of June. The determination to occupy the principalities was therefore taken before the orders for the advance of the combined squadrons were given. The sultan's minister was informed that unless he signed within a week, and without the change of a word, the note proposed to the Porte by Prince Mentschikoff on the eve of his departure from Constantinople, the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia would be occupied by Russian troops. The sultan could not accede to so insulting a demand; but, when the actual occupation of the principalities took place, the sultan did not, as he might have done in the exercise of his undoubted right, declare war, but addressed a protest to his allies.

"Her majesty, in conjunction with the sovereigns of Austria, France, and Prussia, has made various attempts to meet any just demands of the Emperor of Russia without affecting the dignity and independence of the sultan; and, had it been the sole object of Russia to obtain security for the enjoyment by the Christian subjects of the Porte of their privileges and immunities, she would have found it in the offers that have been made by the sultan. But, as that security was not offered in the shape of a special and separate stipulation with Russia, it was rejected. Twice has this offer been made by the sultan, and recommended by the four powers; once by a note originally prepared at Vienna, and subsequently modified by the Porte; once by the proposal of bases of negotiation agreed upon at Constantinople on the 31st of December, and approved at Vienna on the 13th of January, as offering to the two parties the means of arriving at an understanding in a becoming and honourable manner. It is thus manifest that a right for Russia to interfere in the ordinary relations of Turkish subjects to their sovereign, and not the happiness of Christian communities in Turkey, was the object sought for by the Russian government; to such a demand the sultan would not submit, and his highness, in self-defence, declared war upon Russia, but her majesty, nevertheless, in conjunction with her allies, has not ceased her endeavours to restore peace between the contending parties. The time has, however, now arrived when, the advice and remonstrances of the four powers having proved wholly ineffectual, and the military preparations of Russia becoming daily more extended, it is but too ob-

vious that the Emperor of Russia has entered upon a course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman empire. In this conjuncture her majesty feels called upon, by regard for an ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognised as essential to the peace of Europe, by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong, by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a power which has violated the faith of treaties and defies the opinion of the civilised world, to take up arms, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, for the defence of the sultan. Her majesty is persuaded that in so acting she will have the cordial support of her people; and that the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion will be used in vain to cover an aggression undertaken in disregard of its holy precepts, and of its pure and beneficent spirit. Her majesty humbly trusts that her efforts may be successful, and that, by the blessing of Providence, peace may be re-established on safe and solid foundations.

"Westminster, March 28th, 1854."

(Declaration.)

"Her majesty the queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having been compelled to take up arms in support of an ally, is desirous of rendering the war as little onerous as possible to the powers with whom she remains at peace. To preserve the commerce of neutrals from all unnecessary obstruction, her majesty is willing, for the present, to waive a part of the belligerent rights appertaining to her by the law of nations. It is impossible for her majesty to forego the exercise of her right of seizing articles contraband of war, and of preventing neutrals from bearing the enemy's despatches, and she must maintain the right of a belligerent to prevent neutrals from breaking any effective blockade which may be established with an adequate force against the enemy's forts, harbours, or coasts. But her majesty will waive the right of seizing enemy's property laden on board a neutral vessel, unless it be contraband of war. It is not her majesty's intention to claim the confiscation of neutral property, not being contraband of war, found on board enemy's ships, and her majesty further declares that, being anxious to lessen, as much as possible, the evils of war, and to restrict its operations to the regularly organised forces of the country, it is not her present intention to issue letters of marque for the commissioning of privateers.

"Westminster, March 28th, 1854."

From the latter part of this document, it will be observed that the onward march of civilisation gives even to war some colouring



of mercy and forbearance. A deputation of Russian merchants, resident in England, were also informed by the government that they would have liberty to remain unmolested in this country during the war, so long as they rendered obedience to the laws. A similar permission has been extended to Russians resident in France.

On Friday, the 31st of March, Lord John Russell, after a long speech, containing a glance at the circumstances that rendered the coming war necessary, moved that the following address should be presented to her majesty, in answer to her message of the 27th of March:—

“Most Gracious Sovereign,—We, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to return to your majesty our humble thanks for your majesty’s most gracious message, and for the communication of the several papers which have been laid before us in obedience to your majesty’s command. We assure your majesty of the just sense we entertain of your majesty’s anxious and uniform endeavours to preserve to your people the blessings of peace, and of our perfect confidence in your majesty’s disposition to terminate the calamities of war, whenever that object can be accomplished, consistently with the honour of your majesty’s crown and the interests of your people. We have observed with deep concern that your majesty’s endeavours have been frustrated by the spirit of aggression displayed by the Emperor of Russia in his invasion and continued occupation of the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia; in the rejection of equitable terms of peace proposed under the sanction of four of the principal powers of Europe; and in the preparation of immense forces to support his unjust pretensions. These pretensions appear to us, your faithful commons, subversive of the independence of the Turkish empire; and we feel that the trust reposed in us demands, on our part, a firm determination to co-operate with your majesty in a vigorous resistance to the projects of a sovereign whose further aggrandisement would be dangerous to the independence of Europe.”

After a warm and spirited debate, the address was agreed to. Mr. Bright, in a speech opposing the war, congratulated the landed proprietors in that house, that in consequence of the increased income-tax,

every man of them had a Turk upon his back. He also described the balance of power as a hackneyed term—a phrase to which it was difficult to attach any definite meaning. He desired an explanation of it; which was thus given by the veteran and accomplished statesman, Lord Palmerston:—“Why, sir, call it the balance of power, or what you will, the idea is one familiar to the mind of man, and which has influenced the conduct of all mankind from the earliest ages. The balance of power means, that a number of weaker states combine together to prevent one strong one from acquiring a power which shall be dangerous to their liberties, their independence, and their freedom of action. It is the doctrine of self-preservation; it is the doctrine of self-defence, with this simple qualification—that it is combined with sagacity and foresight—that you endeavour to prevent an imminent danger before it comes thundering at your gates. I know that the honourable member is so attached to his principles, that he thinks peace is of all things the best, and war of all things the worst. I happen to be of opinion that there are things for which peace may be advantageously sacrificed, and that there are calamities which nations may endure still worse than war.”

The House of Lords was not behindhand in responding to the queen’s message to parliament. The same evening that the subject was discussed in the commons, it was brought forward by the Earl of Clarendon in the upper house. He moved an address, identical in spirit and similar in terms, to that voted by the commons; and it was agreed to *nemine contradicente*. On Monday, April the 3rd, the house met soon after two o’clock, and a deputation of peers, in full dress, went in procession to the palace, and presented their address to her majesty. In the course of the day, the queen returned them the following reply:—“My lords,—I thank you for your loyal and dutiful address. It is highly gratifying to me to receive the assurances of your co-operation in giving effect to the measures which I consider necessary for the honour of my crown and the welfare of my people.” Her majesty having intimated that she would receive the address of the House of Commons at three o’clock, the members waited upon her with it at that hour. She returned a similar answer to the one she had sent to the lords. The city was not

to be beaten in this race of loyalty. On the 12th of April, the lord-mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, common-councilmen, and officers of the corporation, had an interview with her majesty, and presented her with their address, to which she returned a very cordial reply.

War having been declared, the 26th of April was appointed as a solemn day of national humiliation and prayer. In answer to a question from the Earl of Roden, Lord Aberdeen stated that it was the intention of the government to move an address to her majesty, that she would be pleased to direct that some day should be set apart for that purpose. This statement elicited an expression of satisfaction from the Archbishop of Canterbury, who added:—"There never was a time when we could more justly and with a safer conscience invoke the blessing of God upon her majesty's arms, in a war which has not been provoked by any aggression or ambition on our part, but which has been undertaken solely for the purpose of protecting those interests of justice that ought not to be laid aside, and in which, I trust, we shall receive a blessing from Him whom we desire to honour." Accordingly a proclamation, setting apart a day for national prayer, was issued by the queen, and a special form of service composed for the occasion by the archbishop. Some persons have, with much show of reason, objected that it was an unhallowed request to the Deity, to implore for success in works of slaughter and destruction: that war can only be carried on by massacres, conflagrations, and by a thousand hideous forms of death, mutilation, and suffering; and that these are events from which we should rather expect the Almighty to avert his face, than on which he should confer his blessing. To this it has been answered, that we do not proffer our petitions to God that he will enable us to inflict the greatest amount of harm; but that we rather pray that the good we propose to accomplish, may be effected as speedily and as bloodlessly as may be.

Collections were made, after service, at most of the churches throughout the country, and a considerable sum collected for the assistance of the destitute wives and children of those soldiers who had gone to serve their country in the East.\* The unhappy condition of such poor women and children excited much sympathy; and great exertions were made, by benevolent persons,

for their relief. The Duke of Sutherland set an excellent example by sending £200 for this generous aim; and other noble hearts, with and without titles, followed his example.

We have another instance of humanity to relate—a humanity shown not by individuals, but by governments. At the time when war was proclaimed, the sovereigns of England and France simultaneously issued a declaration that they intended, as far as possible, to mitigate its severities. For this purpose, they announced that neutral flags would be allowed to trade and cover the enemy's property, with the sole exceptions of trade to blockaded ports, or of trade in contraband of war, or the conveyance of the officers or despatches of the enemy. It was added, that neutral property beneath the flag of the enemy would not be condemned, and that, at least for the present, letters of marque would not be issued.

Aware of the declaration of war that must follow his rejection of the final ultimatum of the allies, Nicholas once again issued a manifesto to his people, endeavouring not only to justify his conduct, but to reiterate the canting cry that he had drawn the sword in the Christian cause against the defenders of the Mohammedan faith. It is as follows; and on its transparent hypocrisy we shall not spend one word:—

"St. Petersburg, April 11th (23rd.)

"By the grace of God we, Nicholas the First, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, King of Poland, &c., &c., to all our subjects make known:—Since the commencement of our difference with the Turkish government we have solemnly announced to our faithful subjects that a sentiment of justice had alone induced us to re-establish the violated rights of the orthodox Christians, subjects of the Ottoman Porte.

"We have not sought, we do not seek, to make conquests, nor to exercise in Turkey any supremacy whatever that might be likely to exceed that influence which belongs to Russia by virtue of existing treaties.

"At that period we already encountered distrust; then soon a covert hostility on the part of the governments of France and England, who endeavoured to lead the Porte astray by misrepresenting our inten-

\* In the parish churches of Cheltenham alone, the sum of £737 11s. 6d. was collected for this humane purpose. In those of Manchester, and St. Thomas's, Pendleton, £952.



tions. Lastly, at this moment, England and France throw off the mask, regard our difference with Turkey as a mere secondary question, and no longer dissemble that their joint object is to weaken Russia, to tear from her a part of her possessions, and to bring down our country from the powerful position to which the hand of the Supreme Being had exalted it.

"Is it for orthodox Russia to fear such threats?"

"Ready to confound the audacity of the enemy, shall she swerve from the sacred purpose that has been assigned to her by Divine Providence? No! Russia has not forgotten God! It is not for worldly interests that she has taken up arms. She combats for the Christian faith, for the defence of her co-religionists oppressed by implacable enemies.

"Let all Christendom know, then, that the thought of the sovereign of Russia is also the thought that animates and inspires all the great family of the Russian people—this orthodox people, faithful to God and to His only Son, Jesus Christ our Redeemer.

"It is for the faith and for Christendom that we combat!

"God with us—who against us?"

"Given at St. Petersburg, on the 11th day of the month of April, in the year of grace 1854, and the twenty-ninth of our reign.  
NICHOLAS."

About the time the allied powers declared war, the principal topic of conversation in the *salons* of St. Petersburg was a singular dream which had occurred, or was said to have occurred, to the Emperor Nicholas. He himself mentioned it to some of his courtiers; and if it actually took place, it is an index to the troubled state of his mind. We are, however, of opinion, that it was probably a little fiction invented by the czar for the encouragement of his people. For four successive nights St. Nicholas, the patron-saint of Russia and of thieves, appeared to his regal namesake, when the latter was in that light sort of slumber which is sometimes described as being neither asleep nor awake. The ghostly visitor sternly questioned the emperor about his motives in undertaking his crusade against the Turks, and demanded whether the conquest of the Ottoman empire was prompted by ambition, or by a desire to place the cross on the territory of the unbeliever?

The emperor replied, that he was above personal consideration, and that religion alone was the cause of his taking up arms: that he did not seek the acquisition of territory which might follow the success of his armies; but that, if it were the inscrutable design of Providence that the Muscovite sway should extend to the Bosphorus, he must resign himself to the decree. The saint appears to have given way to a scepticism not usual in those of his order, and for four successive nights he repeated his visits and his questions, each time more sternly than before. The irritated emperor swore that he repudiated the insinuations of his spectral visitor, and again affirmed that he had no object but the triumph of the orthodox faith. St. Nicholas was satisfied, and ceasing his inquiries, uttered these words before his departure:—"Pursue thy project, my son, and in the name of God, who has sent me to you, I promise you victory." This tale was soon spread abroad among the people in every direction; and no doubt, at least to some extent, answered the purpose for which we think it was designed—that of making an ignorant and superstitious people believe that they were fighting in the especial cause of their Creator.

While on the subject of dreams, we will relate a fable that the Turks, or rather the more zealous and rigid Mohammedans among them, composed in reference to the equality demanded by the allied powers to be established between the believers and the infidels; or, in other words, between the worshippers of the Crescent and those of the Cross. "Mentschikoff," said they, "came to Constantinople, and asked for the Koran. He looked at the book, marked several passages, and said,—'Erase these.' The English and French then came, and asked also for the Koran. After reading, they said,—'Throw this book into the Bosphorus.'" The state of feeling that led to this fable was produced by the dislike of the Turks to the legal emancipation of the Christians, and to some suspicion as to the sincerity of their defenders. The declaration of war, however, increased their confidence. The fanaticism of the extreme religious party at Constantinople was so great, that the emancipation of the Christians was not effected without endangering a revolution. The sheik-ul-Islam, or chief of the church, is one of the most powerful persons in the Ottoman state. He presides over the ule-

mahs, who unite in themselves the functions of both judge and priest; and his influence over this body of men rendered him a dangerous enemy to the doctrine of concession to the Christian. This exalted personage not only opposed the granting civil rights to the Christian population of Turkey, but declared, that when the sultan overstepped the limits of the power given him by God and the prophet, the people were released from their obedience; and that he solemnly protested against the blasphemous step of placing the testimony of a *giaour* in the balance with the word of a true believer. Abdul-Medjid very properly replied to this note of defiance, by depriving the intolerant *sheikh-ul-Islam* of his office, and appointing a man of a more pliant temper to his place. The sultan risked a popular outbreak by this act; but dangers from without seemed to awe down tumults from within. The deposition of the *sheikh-ul-Islam* was accompanied by the startling declaration, that the possessions of the mosques were in future to be the property of the state.

In consequence of the winter, active warfare had for a time ceased upon the banks of the Danube. Skirmishes which led to no result took place occasionally; but the Turks occupied the right bank of the river, and still held their strongly-fortified position at Kalafat on the left. The Russians had an immense army posted near Kalafat, but they abstained from attacking the Turks there. At the approach of spring, warlike operations recommenced. On the 23rd of March, an army of no less than 35,000 Russians, under the command of General Lüders, crossed the Lower Danube, in three or four divisions, at or opposite Brailow, Galatz, and Ismail, on bridges made upon rafts moored in the stream. The district where the invaders succeeded in establishing themselves is a part of Bulgaria called the

Dobrudseha. This is a strip of land lying between the Danube on the north and west, and the Black Sea on the east. At its greatest breadth it is about ninety miles across, and at its narrowest not above thirty-five. It is a flat, barren land: roads there are none; and the only passage is by means of narrow and broken pathways.\* The Bulgarian bank of the Danube was defended in this direction by the forts of Hirsowa, Matsehin, Isaktehi, and Tultseha; and all these places were taken, or invested by the Russians.

It excited much surprise that the Russians were permitted to take this important step with but a feeble opposition; and some rumours were spread to the effect that treachery had been at work, and Russian gold had done more than Russian steel. In some places, the Turks retired at once, and fell back on the fortress of Baba-Dagh. At Matsehin, a conflict took place, and the Russians lost about 400 men, about half of whom were drowned. But in crossing from Ismail to Tultseha, a more vigorous resistance was offered. General Ushakoff had either to silence three batteries, or to take them at the point of the bayonet. After a time the latter alternative was resorted to, and a battalion advanced to the attack. In thirty minutes half of the men had perished. A second battalion was brought up, and shared the fate of its predecessor. A third was more successful, and succeeded in gaining a footing on the right bank of the river.

While this desperate conflict was going on in the neighbourhood of the batteries, other Russian troops, both infantry and cavalry, had crossed the river and advanced on the flank of the Turks. Though fearfully overmatched, the latter fought desperately for their guns; two batteries of which, with the exception of one gun, they carried off. The third battery was defended by

\* The following description of this wild tract, from the pen of Baron Moltke, is possessed of interest:—"The Dobrudseha is such a waste as one would hardly expect to find in Europe. The population may be about 300 persons to every five square (English) miles. In 1828, it was foreseen that from the nature of the soil, an army on its march through the Dobrudseha would meet with great difficulties. In the northern part of the province are the deep mountains of Matschin and the heights of Baba-Dagh. Farther south, the whole country is an undulating plain, not much more than 100 feet above the level of the sea. The soil consists of a fine gray sandy moss, through which the water sinks, as it also does through the calcareous strata underneath. In vain does one seek in the valley for brooks or

springs; and the little water which is found in the distant villages is drawn from wells eighty or a hundred feet deep. From this want of water, and the thinness of the population, agriculture is at such a low ebb that neither corn nor hay can be had in any quantity. Even at the beginning of summer, nothing presents itself to the eye but an immeasurable expanse covered with parched blades of grass. Nowhere, not even in the villages, is a tree or a shrub to be found. As desolate and devoid of wood and water, or even more so, is that part of Bulgaria which lies between Trajan's Wall and Basardschik; and a column which undertakes to pass through this district, which is 125 miles in length, will meet with more of the necessities of life." In this barren land the Russians perished with alarming rapidity.



three companies, who were completely surrounded by the Russians. The struggle continued for half-an-hour; half of the Turks were killed, and the other half taken prisoners before the battery was captured. The Russians, though victors, did not escape unscathed, for their loss in this engagement is said to have amounted to 1,500 men. On the same day (the 23rd) the Turks, to some extent, retrieved their tarnished laurels by inflicting another defeat upon the Russians at Oltenitza. The loss of the latter, in killed and wounded, is said to have amounted to 2,000 men; but that is probably an exaggeration. On the 24th, the conflict was renewed both at Tultscha and Matschin. The latter place was bombarded on the 25th and 26th; and two vain attempts were made to take it by storm. The garrison, however, surrendered at discretion on the 27th, and was sent under escort to Besarabia. Tultscha was taken by storm on the 27th, and 1,000 Turks and ten guns captured. Accounts of these transactions vary; but it is said, that during the five days the struggle lasted (from the 23rd to the 27th inclusive), the Turks made seven sallies, and inflicted a loss of 3,000 men upon the Russians.

This onward movement of the Russians into the dominions of the sultan created great alarm, and many persons supposed they would even attempt to march on to Constantinople. To do this, they would have to pass a line of defence called the wall of Trajan (a relic of Roman times), which extends from the Danube to the Black Sea. Such a defence was not only powerful, but just the one the Turks were likely to hold against an enemy with energy and success. It was plainly impossible for the Russian troops to remain long in so barren and unhealthy a place as the Dobrudscha: they must either advance in the face of the enemy, or retire across the river from whence they came. In the meantime, however, they employed themselves in leveling to the earth the fortifications they had taken; and the keys of Matschin, Isaktchi, and Hirsova, were sent to St. Petersburg as trophies of success.

As if to keep the balance of victory level, the Turks, to the number of 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, on the 30th of March made an excursion from Kalafat, and advanced against the Russians who were posted in force at Skripetz. An inconsiderable, though sanguinary engagement followed,

which, after lasting four hours, ended in the defeat of the Russians. They lost 600 men; the Turks, 200.

On the 1st of April, the Turks undertook a second "*reconnaissance*" from Kalafat of a more serious character. Five squadrons of regular troops, and 400 Bashi-Bazouks, mounted at two o'clock in the morning, and started in the direction of Pojana. On the road, they met some Cossack videttes, who galloped off with almost breathless speed to give the alarm at the Russian camp. Those wild dare-devils, the Bashi-Bazouks, followed hard upon their lean horses—arrived at Pojana at the same time as the Cossacks, leaped the ditch of the camp, and at four o'clock were in the town. Ten minutes after, the regular cavalry arrived. The Russians did not expect the attack, and were in no great force at Pojana; not more than about 1,400 men being there at that time. These were thrown into disorder and terror by the sudden arrival of the Turks, and many of them were instantly hemmed round. A Russian squadron, which had been formed for a *reconnaissance*, was seized with dismay, and striking their spurs into their horses, fled at full speed, never drawing bridle until they reached Muglavat, a little place three or four miles to the north of Kalafat. All was confusion; the Turks charged sword in hand; about fifty Russians were killed, as many more wounded, and a great number taken prisoners. The Turks then returned in triumph to their quarters. On the 3rd, the Russians approached with 15,000 men to wash off the disgrace they had sustained. A fusillade of sharpshooters took place and lasted for five hours, during which time several charges of cavalry were made, but with little result. The Russians were at length repulsed with cannon. For three days afterwards they remained in ambush with two field-pieces, in the hope of surprising the advanced post of the Turks; but their design was discovered.

The reason why the Turks found so few men at Pojana was, that the Russians, abandoning their long-threatened attack on Kalafat, and desirous of concentrating their forces with a view to crossing the river in the centre of the Turkish military operations, had commenced their retreat from Little Wallachia. But some imagined that this backward step was taken with a view to prevent the interference of Austria, upon whose dominions the Russian troops then bordered. However that may be, on the 24th of April, the

Russians abandoned Krajova, so long the head-quarters of General Gortschakoff. This retreat of the Russians made it no longer necessary to maintain 50,000 men and so large a force of artillery at Kalafat. Part of the Turkish troops were therefore marched to other points of the river. The Emperor Nicholas was doubtless dissatisfied with the general in command of the Russian army in the principalities; for, after the evacuation of Little Wallachia, Prince Paskiewitsch was sent to succeed Gortschakoff as commander-in-chief. Krajova was taken possession of by the Turks, who were welcomed by the inhabitants as deliverers.

While this was going on at the extreme right of the long line of defences on the Danube, the Russians received a considerable check, on the 18th or 19th of April, at the extreme left in the Dobrudscha. The Wall of Trajan (of which we have spoken) commences at a place called Czernavoda, and extends to Kara-su and Kostendje, on the shore of the Black Sea. At Czernavoda a battle took place, which, after lasting six hours, ended unfavourably for the Russians. Particulars are wanting; but it does not seem to have been a very formidable engagement. The loss of the Russians was estimated at 500 killed, 250 prisoners, and fifteen guns. The Turks suffered considerably, but remained in possession of the field.

Leaving the advanced part of the Russian army in the barren Dobrudscha (where they remained for some time in a state of inactivity, and fearfully assailed by disease),\* let us refer to some other events of this great historic drama. We have mentioned the convention between France and England. It was signed on the 10th of April, and not only provided for the restoration of peace by rescuing the territory of the Ottoman from the grasp of Russia, but it pledged the contracting parties "to

secure Europe against the return of the deplorable complications which have disturbed the general peace." This, it will be seen, was imperatively necessary; for if England, France, and Turkey laid down their arms as soon as the Russian troops had evacuated the border-provinces, without exacting from the czar some good security that his aggressive acts should not be repeated, then in a few years the contest would probably be renewed, and all parties be in the same position as they were at the commencement of the outbreak. The courts of Austria and Prussia did not enter into this view, or rather did not choose to see things in this evident light. Francis Joseph, the youthful Emperor of Austria, owed some obligations to the czar Nicholas, and Frederick William, the King of Prussia, was brother-in-law to the autocrat. Therefore, while they both condemned his conduct, neither of them was inclined actively to oppose it by joining with the western powers for the defence of Turkey. The Austrian and Prussian governments, however, were too much interested in the great question to allow of their standing altogether aloof, and contemplating its course with silent indifference. On the 20th of April, they entered into a convention which differed considerably from that which existed between England and France. They desired the evacuation of the border-provinces by the Russian troops: but with that they would rest satisfied; and they determined not to interfere actively unless they considered German interests to be endangered.

On the 23rd of May, the separate treaties between England and France, and Austria and Prussia, were brought within the limits of one quadruple instrument. Thus the German courts, though not having declared war themselves, sanctioned the war carried on against Russia by others.

\* The Dobrudscha, and, indeed, Turkish ground generally, seem peculiarly destructive to Russian life. The following passage from Curzon's *Armenia* contains some remarkable facts on this subject:—"When the Russians invaded Turkey, in 1828, they lost 50,000 men by sickness alone, by want of the necessaries of life, and neglect of the commissariat department: 50,000 Russians died on the plains of Turkey, not one man of whom was killed in battle; for their advance was not resisted by the Turks. In the next year (1829), the Russians lost 60,000 men between the Pruth and the city of Adrianople. Some of these, however, were legitimately slain in battle. When they arrived at Adrianople the troops were in so wretched a condition, from sickness and want of food, that not 7,000 men were able to bear arms;

how many horses and mules perished in these two years is not known. The Turkish government was totally ignorant of this deplorable state of affairs at Adrianople till some time afterwards, when the intelligence came too late. If the Turks had known what was going on, not one single Russian would have seen his native land again: even as it was, out of 120,000 men, not 6,000 ever recrossed the Russian frontier alive." Such was the price that the Emperor Nicholas paid for the protectorate (?) of the Danubian provinces! Such was the reckless sacrifice of life by which he drove the Turkish government into the justly condemned treaty of Adrianople. Surely, even victory is an awful and exacting goddess! But unjust triumphs should be dearly bought.



We must now call attention to the first act of importance of the allied English and French fleets in the Black Sea. This was the bombardment of Odessa, together with the destruction of its fortifications, batteries, military magazines, and the burning or sinking of many Russian ships of war and merchantmen. Just previously to the attack on Odessa, thirteen Russian trading-vessels were captured between the 13th and 16th of April, by the English ships *Retribution* and *Niger*, and the French imperial frigate *Descartes*.

We have already briefly alluded to the town of Odessa in our second chapter, but some further account of what it lately was (condensed from Mr. Shirley Brook's recent little volume),\* will afford considerable interest. The appearance of Odessa from the sea is striking: its bold cliffs are crowned by white buildings, some of which have a classical character. The most prominent is a mansion of Prince Woronzoff;† and the next object which strikes you is a gigantic staircase, consisting of nearly 200 steps, leading directly down from the centre of the town to the beach. At the head of the staircase stands an elegant statue of the Duc de Richelieu, a French emigrant, who became governor of Odessa, devoted himself to its improvement, and died in honourable poverty. The town is of great extent; its streets are broad, though many are unpaved, and the rest insufficiently so. The dust in the streets is of a peculiar character, and so plentiful, that the slightest breeze covers the passenger with a white powder. At times the clouds of dust are so dense that the opposite houses can hardly be discerned. When rain falls, matters are worse, and the sojourner at Odessa is in mud to the ankles. The town has a museum, a public library, an opera-house, a national theatre, and a newspaper; but the latter is beneath con-

tempt, the censorship preventing its containing any real information, and its critical articles being the very washiest of French flippancies.

But Odessa is a busy port, the great focus into which is concentrated the result of the agricultural industry of the southern Russian empire. Wheat is delivered there from enormous distances, to be poured into the ships which have crossed the Black Sea to receive it. It is collected from a vast extent of country; and both water and land carriage are employed to transmit it to the harbour of Odessa. England, France, Spain, Denmark, Sardinia, Naples, Sweden, Sicily, and Turkey—all, according to their respective needs, send vessels to fetch the wheat thus gathered. The place itself has little or no actual connexion with agriculture. Situated without the dreary waste called a steppe, the town is not devoid of patches of land where something approaching to fertility may be occasionally witnessed. But scarcely has the traveller's foot left the widely-extended and wretchedly-paved streets, on his progress inland, than he finds himself in the desert of the steppe.

The highest style of abode presented by Odessa is the palace of the noble; the lowest is the tub of the fruit-woman.‡ The first would do honour to any capital of Europe; the inhabitants of the second are not troglodytes, and that is all. Between these two extremes ranges every variety of residence. The lighting of the town is extremely defective; it is confined to a series of oil-lamps, which just serve to mark out the corners of the streets, and occasionally to preserve the pedestrian from an open drain. For the absence of gas there is no reason at all, except that one which will ever oppose all improvement in Russia. The habit of bigoted or interested hostility to every change has repeatedly interfered when

\* *The Russians of the South.*

† It was burnt during the bombardment.

‡ These uncomfortable habitations Mr. Brooks describes in the following humorous manner:—"The tub residences to which I referred are among the features of the monster market here, and they are inhabited by women. Elevation, ground-plan, and other architectural contrivances, are all comprehended in a single effort. A large black cask, somewhat resembling a sugar hogshead, is laid on its side, and the house is built. A quantity of hay is laid inside, and the house is furnished. The lady gets in upon the hay, and the house is inhabited. Before the entrance of the mansion she strews the onions, tomatas, or whatever else she may vend; and during the hours of business she sits in the tub,

smokes her pipe, chaffers with her customers, and says her prayers. After business is over she ascends in which quarter the wind sits, turns the closed end of her tub towards that quarter, and creeps to rest in peace and tranquillity. But some of these women are ambitious, and take to building. They do not, indeed, demand marble staircases and mahogany doors; but they take two tubs, which are laid face to face, at a distance of three or four feet, and over the interstice, tubs and all, is placed a watertight canvas. The fair occupant (and two or three whom I saw, though not literally fair, were extremely pretty) has then two rooms, besides a hall; but this luxury is not adopted by the older class, who think that we ought to adhere to the customs of our ancestors."

it has been endeavoured to establish a gas manufactory; and so the inhabitants of Odessa have gone on nightly breaking their shins, and tumbling into their dirty drains, for want of an article no respectable village is without.

The general aspect of Odessa has frequently been compared to that of Brighton. At the south-easterly end of the town runs a long fortified mole, with a lighthouse at the end of it. It is called the quarantine mole, and shelters a crowd of ships of all nations. In the attack on Odessa, the English and French ships had orders to avoid injuring the quarantine mole, if possible. At the northern extremity of the cliffs surrounding the town stood the imperial mole, which enclosed a number of Russian ships of all kinds, and some large stores or barracks. Between these two moles was a battery at the foot of the cliffs.

Thus much of the town of Odessa, which was fated to punishment in expiation of the massacre of Sinope. Now for the hostilities against it, and the immediate cause of them. News of the English declaration of war having reached the allied fleet (then anchored at Baltshik Bay, near Varna) on the 9th of April, the English steam-frigate *Furious* was sent to Odessa, for the purpose of taking on board the consuls, and such British or French subjects as might be anxious to leave the town. The *Furious* carried a flag of truce at her mast-head, and sent forward a boat, also bearing a white flag, to demand the consuls. Some delay occurred before an answer was returned, and the officer in command of the boat thought it right to return to the ship. As he did so, seven cannon-shots were fired from the batteries of the town at the boat, and in the direction of the ship. Happily this piece of treachery was without effect. It is regarded by all civilised nations as a barbarous outrage to fire upon a flag of truce. The white unspotted symbol of peace hung out by those who, influenced by a faith in their common humanity, approach an enemy with pacific proposals, is ever considered as sacred, except by savages. The conduct of the officers who directed this attack is without a precedent in the history of the wars of civilised nations.

Admiral Dundas and Vice-admiral Hamelin immediately proceeded to a consideration of the measures necessary to prevent the repetition of so cowardly and shameful a proceeding. Three war-steamers (two English

and one French) were sent to Odessa to demand why the boat with the flag of truce had been fired upon. An evasive reply was given: the vessels then demanded a written answer; and Baron Osten-Sacken, the military governor there, returned the following note, which we insert, as containing a Russian view of the question:—

“Aide-de-camp General Baron D’Osten-Sacken thinks it right to express to Admiral Dundas his surprise at hearing that shots were fired from the port of Odessa upon the frigate the *Furious*, bearing a flag of truce.

“At the arrival of the *Furious* two guns were fired without ball, in consequence of which the vessel hoisted its national flag, and stopped her course beyond the reach of cannon-shot. Immediately a boat was sent out with a white flag in the direction of the mole, and the officer on duty, in answer to the question of the English officer, said that the English consul had already left Odessa. Without further question, the boat took the direction of the ship, when the frigate, without waiting for it, advanced towards the mole, leaving the boat at its left, and approached the batteries within cannon-shot. It was then that the commander of the battery of the mole, faithful to his order to prevent any vessel from coming within reach of the guns, thought it his duty to fire, not upon the flag of truce, which had been respected to the end of its mission, but upon a vessel of the enemy which had approached the land too nearly after having been twice fired upon without ball—the signal to stop.

“This simple explanation of facts, as they have been related to the emperor, ought of itself to destroy the supposition, otherwise inadmissible, that in the ports of Russia there is no respect paid to the flag of truce, the inviolability of which is guaranteed by the laws common to all civilised nations.

“BARON OSTEN-SACKEN,

“Aide-de-camp General to his majesty the emperor.”

This reply the admirals regarded as false and unsatisfactory; and on the 21st they sent the following demand, that all British, French, and Russian vessels then at anchor, should be given up as a reparation of the insult offered to the allied fleet:—

“Sir,—Inasmuch as the letter of your excellency, dated the 14th of April, which has only reached us this morning, only sets forth erroneous statements to justify the



indescribable aggression committed by the authorities of Odessa upon one of our frigates and her boat, both carrying a flag of truce; inasmuch as, notwithstanding this flag, the batteries of the town fired several shots on the frigate as well as on the boat, at the moment when this boat was leaving the quay of the mole, to which it had repaired with confidence; the two vice-admirals commanding the combined squadrons of France and England think themselves entitled to demand a reparation from your excellency. Consequently, all the British, French, and Russian vessels now at anchor near the citadel or the batteries of Odessa must forthwith be delivered up to the combined squadrons. If, at sunset, the two vice-admirals have received no answer, or a negative answer, to this communication, they will be compelled to resort to force to avenge the flag of one of the combined squadrons for the affront offered to it, although the interests of humanity induce them to adopt this alternative with regret, and they cast the responsibility of such an act on those to whom it belongs.

“HAMELIN, Vice-admiral.

“D. DUNDAS, Vice-admiral.”

To this demand no answer was returned. The allied fleets had made their appearance, and cast anchor before Odessa on the 21st, having resolved to elastise it by means of bombardment, usually one of the most appalling operations of war. Early on Saturday morning, the 22nd of April, the following vessels advanced to the attack:—the *Mogador*, *Vauban*, *Descartes*, *Caton* (French); the *Sampson*, *Terrible*, *Tiger*, *Retribution*, *Furious*, and a detachment of rocket-boats, under Commander Dixon. The *Sanspareil* and *Highflyer* acted as a reserve; the rest of the allied fleets remained spectators, at a distance of about three miles and-a-half.

The attacking force opened their fire upon the imperial mole at about twenty minutes to seven. Every steamer poured forth her broadside, and then wheeled round in a circle of about half-a-mile in diameter, each taking up the fire in succession. A spectator describes these great floating castles as wheeling and twisting about like so many

waltzers. The Russian guns from the mole answered with great steadiness, and with some effect. In about an hour, the French steamer *Vauban* was riddled in several places, and set on fire by red-hot shot. In this condition she retired from the contest, and steamed towards the fleet; but the fire being subdued, she returned to her post.\* Fierce and continued as that incessant fire from the steamers was, it did not succeed in silencing the mole. But the Russian fire became slower; and about one o'clock a shed at the back of the tongue-battery having caught fire, in a few minutes a terrific explosion and a gigantic column of smoke and dust announced that the imperial magazine had blown up. Great part of the mole on which it stood was rent in pieces by the violence of the shock. This result was received by three cheers from the French and English crews. It was caused by the red-hot shot of the *Terrible*, which stood nearer in towards the town than the rest of the ships; and consequently was more exposed to the fire from the Russian batteries. This vessel fired no less than 572 rounds of shot and shell, besides fifty-one rockets.

The assailing squadron was thus relieved from their most formidable opponent, the battery on the imperial mole. Signals were made to stand in further, and continue the attack; and the allies turned their attention more immediately to the Russian vessels in the harbour, pouring upon them deadly streams of shot and shell. A Russian frigate was soon on fire, and after burning to the water's edge, blown into shatters. Two new frigates on the stocks were also burnt, together with from twenty to thirty merchantmen. Some smaller vessels of war are supposed also to have been sunk or burnt.

After the imperial mole had been blown up, the guns from the batteries on the quarantine mole opened a fire upon the fleet. This was replied to with interest; but though the batteries suffered considerably, they were not silenced. Each of the vessels not engaged in the action had sent a rocket-boat, firing 24-pound rockets, to attempt the destruction of the stores,

\* The following passage is an extract from a letter by an officer of one of the vessels engaged at the bombardment of Odessa:—"The *Vauban* was obliged to leave the scene of action, having been set on fire by a red-hot shot, which penetrated the outer planking, and rolled down between it and the inner

lining, towards the bottom of the vessel. Having burnt its way through inside, it was soon removed and all put to rights again; but they were rather apprehensive of the ship blowing up, from its proximity to the magazine, which they cleared away immediately."

in the dockyard. A masked battery of six horse-artillery guns opened out upon them, sending a shower of balls, which ploughed up the water around the boats, but happily caused no loss of life. The steamers and rocket-boats returned this fire, and immediately silenced it. From the effect of the rockets, the dockyard was soon in flames. They also set the lower part of the town on fire, and nearly one-half of Odessa was destroyed. This was not intended; and the rest of the town and the neutral ships were spared, though they might easily have been consigned to destruction. The steamers kept up their fire until about five o'clock, when the signal of recall was made, after the action had lasted upwards of ten hours. On the side of the allied fleet, the loss was incredibly trifling: that of the English, amounted only to one man killed and ten wounded. The *Retribution* received twelve shots in her hull, and was much knocked about; and several of the other steamers were somewhat damaged. It is difficult to estimate the loss of the Russians, as different accounts are given. One report states that they had 200 men killed, 300 dangerously wounded, and twice that number slightly so. Forty-nine Russians (captains and sailors, who had been captured during the action) were afterwards put on board an Austrian vessel in the roads, and sent back to Odessa, with a note from Admiral Dundas, saying that he did not desire to retain them longer than was necessary. After the just punishment of Russian treachery at Odessa, the allied fleets sailed away to the massive grim citadel and batteries of Sebastopol, leaving Baron Osten-Sacken and his officers to contemplate the black smoking ruins and the sad loss of life their barbarism and bad faith had provoked.\*

During the progress of the allied fleets to Sebastopol, the *Furious* and the *Caton*

\* It was entirely owing to the forbearance of the combined fleets that Odessa was not utterly destroyed, and left a smouldering heap of blackened ruins. Had all the vessels joined in the attack, such a result must have been inevitable; but humanity prevailed in the councils of the two admirals, and the uplifted arm was stayed. Under these circumstances, what must we think of the following rescript of the imperial braggart, which he addressed to the people of Odessa, and also caused to be published in the *Invalides Russe*!

"To the inhabitants of our well-beloved and loyal town of Odessa.—The Anglo-French fleets, entering the Black Sea, attacked, some days back, the peaceful city of Odessa, open to the commerce of Europe. General Baron d'Osten-Sacken, in speaking of the brilliant courage with which the attempts of the

separated from the other vessels to explore the bay at the south of the town of Eupatoria. In fulfilling this duty, the *Caton* captured three Russian vessels, and the *Furious* took a fourth. Two out of these four vessels were sent to the Bosphorus, and the others were sunk. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, the allies lay-to to draw the Russian fleet out to meet them. To induce them to come, Admirals Dundas and Hamelin directed two of their vessels to keep out of sight of the Crimea; but this stratagem was performed in vain. The captains of the Russian fleet seem to have thought that "discretion was the better part of valour," and they remained safely ensconced behind the tremendous batteries of the harbour.

According to the treaty of Adrianople, or to the construction the Russian government was pleased to place upon it, the mouths of the Danube were placed under its authority. The Danube was the highway of a great trade for Austria. The Danubian Steam Company alone had 350 vessels employed in conveying Austrian and German manufactures to Galatz, from which port they soon found their way into the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, to the Levant, and by Trebizond, into the very centre of Asia. This export-trade of Austria was by no means pleasing to the Russian government, and therefore all possible impediments were thrown in the way of the navigation of the Danube. From the moment that the eastern and western powers were short-sighted enough to place the mouths of the Danube in the keeping of Russia, she resolved to have the whole trade with the countries lying on the coasts of the Black Sea in her own hands, and she took her measures accordingly. To check the active intercourse between the Danubian principalities and the Upper Danube, she turned her

enemy have been repulsed by the military forces, has likewise informed us that in the midst of the danger which menaced the inhabitants, public tranquillity was not disturbed a single moment, and that the people executed with exemplary zeal all the orders of the local authorities. Strict obedience to duty, as prescribed by our holy religion, and devotedness to the throne, animate all our well-beloved and faithful subjects. At Odessa that sentiment, so worthy of praise, has been manifested to its full extent under the thunder of the enemy's cannon. The firmness and self-denial of the inhabitants of that town could not fail to attract our attention, and we feel pleasure in expressing, on this occasion, to all classes of the population our special kind feelings.

"NICHOLAS.

"St. Petersburg, May 8th."



quarantines in the Moldo-Wallachian ports into preventive service, or rather police-establishments. The excuse for the annoyance to which travellers were thus subjected was, "that the plague must be kept out of Bessarabia;" but persons going direct for Vienna, to Giurgevo, and Bucharest, without touching on the right bank of the river, met with exactly the same treatment as those coming from Bulgaria. Further to serve the accomplishment of its purpose, the Russian government allowed the sand to accumulate in the mouths of the river, until, at the time the Russian army crossed the Pruth in June, 1833, they were effectually closed against all vessels requiring any depth of water. The Russians afterwards blocked up the mouths of the river with piles, and thus thoroughly usurped all dominion over the Lower Danube.

During the month of April (1854), the Russian batteries at the mouth of the Danube were bombarded by part of the allied fleet in the Black Sea. This was

done in consequence of the command of the river being essential before the Russians could be driven from the Danubian provinces. On the 1st of June, 1854, Admirals Hamelin and Dundas issued the following notification:—"In consequence of the passage of the Danube by the Russian army, their occupation of the Dobrudscha, and their holding possession of the mouths and the two banks of the river, we, the undersigned vice-admirals, commanding in chief the combined naval forces of France and England in the Black Sea, declare by these presents, in the name of our respective governments, and make known to all those whom it may concern, that we have established an efficient blockade of the Danube, in order to cut off all supplies intended for the Russian army. All the mouths of the Danube communicating with the Black Sea are included in the blockade; and we hereby warn the vessels of all nations that they cannot enter that river until further orders."

## CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH FORCES AT GALLIPOLI; DISPOSITION OF THE VARIOUS FORCES; THE BASHI-BAZOUKS; LAUNCH OF THE GREAT WAR-STEAMER THE ROYAL ALBERT; AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA; DIFFICULTIES OF NICHOLAS; DESTRUCTION OF THE FORT OF GUSTAFSVARN; LOSS OF THE TIGER; GALLANT FEAT OF THE ARROGANT AND HECLA; KOSSUTH ON THE WAR.

At daybreak on the 1st of April, the first detachment of the French army arrived in the roads of Gallipoli, and by noon generals Canrobert, Bosquet, and Martimprey disembarked, with their staff, in the quarantine harbour. They were received by the governor and the people with the utmost enthusiasm, and more than 400 houses, stores, and khans, were placed at their disposal. A Turkish commission, headed by Ibrahim Pasha, had proceeded to Gallipoli before the arrival of the first detachment, in order to be on the spot and procure for the soldiers whatever they might stand in need of.

The French, however, found nothing prepared for them; and General Canrobert expelled the dervishes from their convent, for the purpose of converting the building into an hospital. This step, however, provoked

but little ill-feeling, as the dervishes were looked upon with dislike by all, except a few fanatics. General Canrobert seems to be a blunt, plain-spoken man, with more of the John Bull than the Frenchman about him. At the conclusion of a splendid reception by the pashas at Constantinople, in which pipes, mounted with diamonds, and jewelled coffee-cups, were handed about by a numerous retinue, he exclaimed: "I am much obliged by your attention; but you will forgive me for saying, I should be much better pleased if all these diamonds and gold were turned into money to pay your troops, and if you sent away all these servants of yours, except two or three, to fight against your enemy!"

A portion of the town was reserved for the accommodation of the English troops, the first detachment of which did not arrive

until some days later than the French. They consisted of a battalion of rifles, and the greater part of the 44th regiment, who arrived in the *Golden Fleece*; and every day witnessed fresh arrivals on the side of both the allied armies. Many of the Turks were by no means pleased at the landing of the allied forces at Gallipoli, it being so far from the seat of war as to render the new comers unable to give any immediate assistance. Gallipoli was so unfitted for the reception of large masses of troops, that, in a short time, General Brown determined not to permit any more English soldiers to disembark there; and on the arrival of the *Himalaya*, on the 13th of April, he ordered it on to Constantinople, where the troops arrived on the 14th, and took up their quarters at Scutari. On account of its immense size, the *Himalaya* created much sensation, both among the Turks and Christians. By its side, the largest vessels in the harbour appeared mere petty craft.

The Turks make brave soldiers, but they are slow men;—so slow and composed, as frequently to appear apathetic and indifferent. Thus the vessel which brought the first detachment of the English force, consisting only of some thousand and odd men, had to lie idle for two days and a-half, because nothing was prepared for them. At this moment, the might of England was unpleasantly compared with that of France. Six or seven French transports were in the harbour, while our great naval state was represented by a single steamer belonging to a private company. Such a circumstance surprised the philosophical Moslems; and a Turkish boatman, addressing an English traveller by the aid of an interpreter, exclaimed: "Oh, why is this? Oh, why is this, young man? By the beard of the prophet, for the sake of your father's father, tell me, O English lord, how is it? The French infidels have got one, two, three, four, five, six, seven ships, with fierce little soldiers; the English infidels, who say they can defile the graves of these French (may Heaven avert it!) and who are as big as the giants of Asli, have only one big ship. Do they tell lies?"

The following interesting particulars we extract from a letter from the *Times* correspondent at Gallipoli:—"On Thursday there was a general hunt for quarters through the town. Mr. Calvert, the consul, attended by a dragoman and a train of lodging-seekers, went from house to house, but it was not

till the eye had got accustomed to the general style of the buildings and fittings that any of them seemed willing to accept the places offered them. The general got a very fine place in a *beau quartier*, with a view of an old Turk on a counter looking at his toes in perpetual perspective. Colonel Sullivan and staff were equally successful. From one learn all: the hall-door, which is an antiquated concern (not affording any particular resistance to the air to speak of) opens on an apartment with clay walls of about ten feet high, and of the length and breadth of the whole house. It is garnished with the odds and ends of the domestic dcity: with empty barrels, with casks of home-made wine, buckets, baskets, &c. At one side a rough staircase, creaking at every step, conducts one to a saloon on the first floor. This is of the plainest possible appearance. On the sides are stuck prints of the 'Nicolaus ho basileus,' and of the 'Virgin and Child' (after the Greek school), with wonderful engravings from Jerusalem. There is no other furniture. It may be observed, that as the schism between the Greek catholic and the Roman catholic churches arose out of the discussion of an intricate question on the subtlest point of theology, they fight bitterly on matters of very fine distinction yet. Thus the Greeks are iconoclasts, and hate images, but they adore pictures. A yellow Jonah in a crimson whale with fiery entrails, is a favourite subject for these artists, and doubtless bears some allegorical meaning. From this saloon open the two or three rooms of the house: the kitchen, the divan, and the principal bedroom. The floors are covered with matting; but, with the exception of the cushions on the raised platform round the wall of the room (about eighteen inches from the floor), there is nothing else in the rooms offered for general competition to the public. Above are dark attics. *Voila tout!* My apartment would form a study for Dr. Reid or Mr. Gurney. If they want to understand the true principle of keeping up a current of fresh air everywhere, let them at once come out to Gallipoli, and become my successors in the possession of this remarkable chamber. True, the walls are of mud and straw, and the staircase has been devised expressly for the purpose of entrapping the first heavy Turk who may happen to stride up. It is the thinnest woodwork possible. Water is some way off, and the philosophers, if not provided with servants who can speak



the language, and an allowance of rations from her majesty's stores, may be seen soon after their arrival stalking up the street with as much dignity as is compatible with the circumstance of their carrying a sheep's liver on a stick in one hand, some lard in the other, and a loaf of black bread under their arms: at least, your correspondent had to adopt that course or die of hunger the other day. There is not such a thing as a pound of butter in the whole country; meat is very scarce, fowls impossible; but the country wine is fair enough, and eggs are not so rare as might be imagined from the want of poultry. Lieutenant-general Brown is in one of these houses; Colonel Sullivan and staff in another. Officers coming out here should know what they have to expect. Let them provide themselves with everything they are likely to want, for they will find nothing at Gallipoli. The nights and mornings are cold even yet, and the thermometer in the shade does not mark beyond 57°. Indeed, the spring is not nearly so far advanced as it is in England, and the trees and shrubs are only just beginning to bud. There is no chance of getting horses at present for love or money: indeed, comfort or necessary accommodation is out of the question. In every respect the French can teach us a lesson in these matters. While our sick men have not a mattress to lie down upon and are literally without blankets, the French are well provided for. We have no medical comforts: none were forwarded from Malta; and so when a poor fellow was sinking the other day, the doctor had to go to the general's and get a bottle of wine for him. The hospital-sergeant was sent out with a sovereign to buy coffee, sugar, and other things of the kind for the sick, but he could not get them, as no change was to be had in the place. After this, it is annoying to visit the French hospital, and see them so well prepared. Everything requisite is nicely made up in small packages, so that they can be carried on mules' backs, and marked with labels so that one can lay his hand on what is wanted in a minute. They are very troublesome in getting what they want; and already some little difficulties have arisen from their desire to lay hold of everything. Dr. Alexander has managed to get beds for about 200 patients in different houses, and he goes down to-day with Mr. Calvert to the Dardanelles, to look at the building which is destined for the principal medical establishment. I regret to say there are

two cases of small-pox in hospital, but they are going on favourably; they came from the *Golden Fleece*. The French and English are generally very healthy, and the town and neighbourhood are said to enjoy great freedom from sickness and disease. On Friday last the general visited the site of the camp, and quarters were appropriated to various officers of the staff in the town."

Lord Raglan did not arrive in the East until the 28th of April, when he landed at Constantinople; and Marshal St. Arnaud made his appearance at the latter city on the 7th of May. On the 10th of the same month, the Duke of Cambridge also arrived at the city of the sultan. Prince Napoleon arrived at Gallipoli on the 30th of April. The vast barracks, erected some years since at Seutari by the Sultan Mahmoud, were devoted to the accommodation of the English soldiers. Seutari, the reader may remember, is situated on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, just facing Constantinople, of which it is regarded as a suburb. It stands on the slope of a hill, and has several fine mosques and magnificent burial-grounds, planted with cypresses. Many of the rich Turks of Constantinople express a desire to be buried there, in consequence of an old tradition that their race will one day be driven out of Europe. Besides the arrangements at Seutari for the accommodation of the private soldiers, the Green Palace at Kuratscheschme was set apart for the reception of the most distinguished officers.

Constantinople presented a singular appearance at this time, in consequence of the number of troops of different climes and costumes that were to be seen within it. Egypt had sent a considerable force to assist in defence of the sultan, and the soldiers of that ancient land were well-armed, well-clothed, and well-disciplined. The Asiatic irregulars, in their picturesque and Oriental costume were, however, far more ornamental than useful. The Bashi-Bazouks are wild, restless fellows, chiefly Kurds and Arabs, but including Negroes, Nubians, and the sweepings of many nations. They are turbulent, ferocious, and impatient of discipline. They have been compared to the formidable Janissaries, whom Sultan Mahmoud destroyed; but the comparison flatters them. Many of them are petty tradesmen in the decayed towns of Asia, or owners of little spots of land which yield a wretched subsistence. Animated by a spirit of adven-

ture and a love of plunder, they mount their horses, seize what weapons they can find, and willingly ride over 500 miles of wild country to enrol themselves in the army of the Danube. An English officer thus describes a large body of them:—"Yesterday, 5,000 Bashi-Bazouks encamped near our lines, and such rum-looking devils of soldiers I never saw; I would be bound to ride slick through them six feet deep. And then their weapons are of all sorts; from a lance, fourteen feet long, down to a hammer tied on a stick, very like those used by an English saddler: they were on their way to be trained under French officers at Varna."

The excesses perpetrated by some of these men have been so frightful, that it is said Omar Pasha would not be sorry to be altogether rid of them. A party of them having been billeted for a night on a man who showed them every hospitality, they, in return, not only committed various outrages on his property and family, but impudently asked how much he would give for the remains of the breakfast he had prepared for them. A traveller on the Danube, during the December of 1853, one night entered a log-hut on the bank of the river, which served as a military post. The chief Bashi-Bazouk having politely offered him a cup of coffee, they entered into conversation. Strangely enough, he turned out to be the son of a Frenchman, one of the soldiers whom Buonaparte had left in Egypt. He had been brought up in Syria; had embraced Islamism, settled and married in Asia-Minor, and was then, with a sonorous Moslem name, serving the sultan on the Danube. He repeated many droll scraps of Arab poetry, and observed that the greatest thinkers of all ages had adopted a religion and a philosophy different from that of their fathers. During the month of April (1854), a party of Bashi-Bazouks fired upon the regular troops not far from Shumla. The soldiers attacked the ruffians, who were greatly superior in number, killed two of them, and captured seven, whom they took before Omar Pasha. The sentence upon them creates a shudder: they were to receive 500 lashes alternately on the back and belly. Two of the wretches died soon afterwards. To explain the infliction of this frightful punishment, it should be stated that the general has not the power to deprive a criminal of life; and incorrigible offenders are therefore sentenced to receive

such a number of blows as are almost certain to produce death. It is a relief to be able to add that such punishments are only resorted to in cases of extreme atrocity.

Of course we speak of the Bashi-Bazouks from report. We are glad to say that we have never been amongst those gentry ourselves, nor have we the least desire to be able to speak of them from experience; but lest we should do them injustice, we insert the following letter from one of them, addressed to the editor of a leading morning journal. We believe it to be a perfectly authentic document; and it really says something for these generally desperate men, that they have among them so intelligent an advocate. We fear, however, that the intelligence and good conduct of a few of them will not have the effect of purifying the character of the rest.

"Sir,—I am a Bashi-Bazouk. Do not tremble at this dreaded name; it seems very harmless, at least on paper. All I want, in my name and that of my comrades, is a fair hearing and justice. We Bashi-Bazouks are constantly hearing from our allies (the English) that England is the only country where it is really to be found, and that you are always ready, with your all-powerful pen, to try and obtain it for the deserving.

"Now, sir, I am, as I said before, a poor Bashi-Bazouk; and, being able to understand a little English, have been in the habit of reading 'Our own Correspondent's' letters, in which we poor Bashi-Bazouks meet with nothing but abuse. Now, let me state our case: When our sovereign (the sultan) in his wisdom declared war against the cursed 'Moskovs,' he sent his firman to all parts of his mighty empire, to call upon his subjects and all true believers to arise and fight for their country and religion. All good Moslems arose at the summons, girded on their arms, and flocked from Kurdistan, Turkistan, Arabistan—in fact, from all parts of Asia Minor—to the seat of war. We had large hearts in our breasts, sharp swords by our sides, but little or no money in our pockets; our chiefs had spent what little they ever had in giving us arms, horses, &c., to make a good appearance before our master, the sultan. Allah bless him! At first we were treated well, and had food given us, and fought and beat the accursed 'Moskov' whenever we had an opportunity. By degrees, as war continued and provisions got scarce, we Bashi-Bazouks,



who had come so far, and left our homes, wives, and children, to fight for our country, began to be neglected; things got worse and worse, and we got less and less to eat. Some among us, who, when pressed by hunger and want in their own country, were in the habit of mounting their horses, and helping themselves from a neighbour's store, now betook themselves to the same way of living, and robbed the villages around for food; others sold their horses—as dear to them as their children—and bought bread. Things went on in this way for a long time; but, wherever there was fighting or hard work, there were the Bashi-Bazouks. We had nobody to look after us, nobody to appeal to, no food, no money, and yet we were expected to do everything that those who are fed and clothed by the sultan do, and more besides. We are said to have plundered and robbed towns; but most of the crimes committed were the work of the Albanian Bashi-Bazouks, and not of us poor Asiatics. Of late, many of us have been taken and beaten to death by sticks for taking bread. You, sir, have probably never felt the actual pangs of hunger—Allah forbid you ever should!—and stood by and seen others fed and yourself denied it. Depend upon it, should you ever be so situated, and have arms in your hands, you will feel inclined to take your share. Well, things went on in this way for months; at last we heard that England and France had taken up the quarrel of our sultan, and it was whispered about that an English pasha was coming out to feed us and look after us. There was great rejoicing in consequence. Some Bashi-Bazouks among us, who had been in India, spoke of the generosity and justice of the great English nation; how regularly they paid their soldiers, and how just they were to all. We heard they were to pay us, and that we were to have the honour of fighting by the side of, and assisting the English against the common enemy. We waited with anxiety the coming of the pasha. He came at last; we looked on him with awe, but we liked him, and felt that, under him, we could do anything. We soon found out he understood our prejudices, and knew how to treat us; and the Hindostanee Bashi-Bazouks told us he spoke their language, and had long lived among their people. He was pleased with us, and spoke kindly; but we had no food or pay, and kind words will not fill empty stomachs.

In the meantime the French came. We had not even heard a whisper that they intended taking any notice of us; but, before they even landed, a French pasha came, and at once 4,000 of us were handed over to him, and from the first day were paid five piastres a-day (one franc), our horses fed, and, in fact, we were treated like French soldiers. We were amazed, and thought our Hindostanee Bashi-Bazouks had been telling lies when they spoke so highly of the great English nation, and their wealth and generosity. They hung down their heads, and said, 'Their faces had been blackened, and that it could not be the same people. The name of the people in India was 'Coompanie,' and their head was an old lady who lived somewhere in London. She was always just and generous. These must be some other people.' Nevertheless, there was the fact, and so it now stands. The English have sent a pasha, and no pay. The French have sent a pasha, who is paying 4,000 of us daily. They are living in comparative luxury, blessing those who feed them; we are just one remove from actual starvation; our horses get nothing but what they can pick off the ground. Look on this picture and on that, and draw your own conclusions.

"Now sir, if you can spare a little more space, let me show you how I think we can be of use to the English army. From our infancy we are used to noise and arms; are constantly at war with our neighbours, and, consequently, inured to it; and, although we do not pretend to take a place by the side of European cavalry in great battles, yet as light horsemen, and in the duties appertaining to such, we hold ourselves second to none; and a body of 3,000 or 4,000 attached to the English army, would save their splendid cavalry from duties for which they are totally unfit, however willing. France has taken 4,000, and had first choice. Let England take another 4,000, and let the remainder go to their homes. We are willing and ready to do anything; but let the motto be the one made use of by a great English general in writing of a country called Ireland: 'Feed, clothe, but don't hang them.' Now, sir, raise your voice in our favour, and, well led, Inshalla! England shall not have to complain, or grudge the few pounds spent on us; after the war, we will return to our homes and spread our name far and wide. A BASHI-BAZOUK.

"Banks of the Danube, July."

While the English and French troops were arriving at Gallipoli, Sir Charles Napier and his gallant fleet leaving Kioje Bay (where they had remained for some time, on account of the enormous masses of ice in the Baltic Sea), proceeded to the Gulf of Finland, which they reached on the 16th of April, where they remained cruising until the arrival of the French squadron. Their presence, of course, amounted to a blockade of the gulf, and prevented any Russian ships from entering the Baltic. The admirals of the allied fleets in the Black Sea, after the bombardment of Odessa, had sailed away to Sebastopol; but the immense strength of that fortress induced them to relinquish the idea of attacking it without the assistance of a land army.

Omar Pasha and the head-quarters of the Turkish army were at Shumla, a considerable town on the northern declivity of the Balkan in Bulgaria. It is surrounded by walls, and defended by a citadel. Situated upon the spot where the roads from the chief fortresses meet, Shumla is considered the key of the Balkan, and has always been the point of attack in every attempt of the Russians to cross into Turkey. Omar Pasha's activity and enthusiasm were remarkable; and it was observed that he was in himself commander-in-chief, adjutant and quartermaster-general, engineer-in-chief, and commissary-general. He is admirably fitted to command. Other pashas ride past the troops stolid and silent; but whenever Omar comes upon a body of soldiers, he stops to speak a kind word of greeting to them, and then the faces of the men are lighted up with feelings of pride in their chief, and of confidence in themselves and in the future. The Ottoman fleet, consisting of twenty-two vessels, under Admiral Ahmet Pasha, left Constantinople on the 4th of May for the Circassian coast. Their presence there was much required, as the Turkish army in Asia was in a very undisciplined state, and extremely open to attack.

As to the Russians, they were gathering bodies of troops at Kalaraschi, opposite to the famous Turkish fortress of Silistria, the possession of which is regarded as indispensable to the prosecution of any operations against Shumla, Varna, or the Balkan. Silistria was bombarded by the Russians on or about the 14th of April; but of the heroic resistance and ultimate triumph of its brave garrison we shall speak presently.

We have thus alluded to the state of the

different fleets and armies engaged in this complicated war, because in the spring of this year (1854) there was a lull in aggressive operations. The anxious politicians looked in vain for news of any great event, and were obliged to content themselves with speculations as to the future, and those gossiping details which public eagerness compels the editors of newspapers to chronicle, but which history throws aside as unnecessary and cumbersome. At this time, therefore, it was not remarkable that the queen, the prince-consort, the royal family, the court, the foreign ministers, the members of the legislature, the naval and military authorities, and about 60,000 persons, went to Woolwich to witness the launch of a new gigantic war-steamer, named the *Royal Albert*. This magnificent vessel is considered on an equality, in size and power, with that of the great *Duke of Wellington*; with which exception, she has no rival in the British navy, and no superior in the world! The extreme length of the *Royal Albert* is 272 feet 2½ inches; her length, between the perpendiculars, 232 feet 9 inches; and length of keel, 193 feet 6 inches. Her extreme breadth is 61 feet 6 inches; breadth for tonnage, 60 feet 2 inches; moulded breadth, 59 feet 4 inches. Her extreme depth is 66 feet; and her depth of hold, 24 feet 2 inches. She is of 3,726 tons' burden, is pierced for 131 guns, and her screw-propeller was to be driven by trunk engines of 500-horse power. Her lower deck will contain ten 8-inch guns for firing shells or hollow shot, and twenty-six long 32-pounders. On the middle deck will be six 8-inch guns, and thirty 32-pounders. On the main deck thirty-eight 32-pounders, and on the upper deck twenty 32-pounders. On the fore-castle she will carry a 68-pounder gun, weighing five tons, and capable of throwing round shot a distance of three miles.

The launch took place on Saturday, the 13th of May, and the river in front of Woolwich dockyard was crowded with craft of every description, many gaily decked with flags, some giving forth cheering music, and all filled with human beings. On shore, within the dockyard, were a series of raised benches, carried round the slip in amphitheatrical form, and affording accommodation for many thousand visitors. There were seated the foreign ambassadors, the members of the two houses of parliament, the cabinet ministers, the officials of the



admiralty, of Whitehall, of Somerset-house, the officers of the dockyard, and the general visitors. At one o'clock the royal carriages, with their cavalry escort, arrived at the dockyard. The royal party consisted of the queen, the prince-consort, the Prince of Wales, the princess-royal, Prince Alfred, and the Duchess of Kent. After some time had been consumed by the ceremonies usual on such occasions, her majesty, leaning upon the arm of Prince Albert, proceeded along the west side of the ship to a raised platform covered with scarlet cloth, at the ship's bow. There Sir James Graham explained to the queen the ceremony of christening the ship. A bottle of wine, covered with lace and decorated at each end with the rose, shamrock, and thistle, was suspended horizontally, so that when lifted and swung forward it would dash against the bow. The queen twice threw the bottle without hitting her aim, and was beginning to look a little perplexed, when, on the third attempt, she was successful; and as the bottle was broken in pieces her majesty exclaimed: "God bless the *Royal Albert*." The christening over, the royal party returned to their original position, and the master-shipwright of the yard proceeded to launch the huge vessel into the river. The timbers were knocked away, the "triggers" on either side removed, the "dog-shores" depressed by the fall of heavy weights upon them, and gangs of ships' carpenters, with heavy hammers, gave forty consecutive blows for the purpose of overcoming the *vis inertia* of the ship's cradle. Still, about ten minutes elapsed before she began to move: expectation was on tip-toe; and at length the enormous ship glided steadily down the slip, amidst the thundering cheers of the spectators. The bands of music on the river and in the dockyard then struck up "Rule Britannia" and "God save the Queen," and thousands of lips uttered the wish that the noble vessel that had just taken to the water with so much of majesty as almost to resemble a living thing, should be fortunate and victorious.

After the launch, the queen and royal party entered their carriages and quitted the dockyard amid fervent demonstrations of loyalty, and the immense crowd of spectators gradually dispersed. Many and great have been the improvements in the British navy since the heroic Nelson perished in the hour of victory at Trafalgar; but the greatest improvement is the introduction of

the marine-engine and the screw-propeller. Though many paddle-wheel steamers were constructed in the queen's dockyards, the importance of this new motive force for vessels of war was not fully recognised until it became manifest that the whole machinery could be buried securely in the hold, below the reach of hostile shot. It was in 1839 and 1840 that Mr. F. P. Smith demonstrated, in the *Archimedes*, the advantages of screw navigation. The admiralty, however, with a cautiousness or an indolence not very commendable, hesitated to adopt it extensively until spurred into activity by the keener appreciation of its merits shown by the naval establishments of the French. At the time of the launch of the *Royal Albert*, we had sixty screw steamers, and thirty-three more were building in our dockyards.

The new ship was towed down the river to be fitted for sea at Sheerness; and we may, perhaps, without wearying our readers, say a few words concerning what may be called her furniture. The bower-anchors of the *Royal Albert* are five tons weight each; her hempen cables are twenty-five inches in circumference; and her chain cables are of two and-a-quarter inches in diameter. The extreme length of her mainmast above the upper deck is eighty-eight feet, that of the main-topmast seventy-three feet, and that of the main-topgallantmast fifty-five feet. The length of her bowsprit, from outside the knight-heads, is fifty-two feet six inches; that of her jib-boom fifty-three feet. She will spread 9,760 yards of canvas when all sail is set on her, and her establishment of sails will require 24,680 yards of canvas.

During this same month of May, cautious, sluggish Austria, gave some sign of an intention to join in the war that agitated Europe, and of its own resolve not to be intimidated by the autocrat Nicholas. It was officially stated in the *Vienna Gazette*, that in consequence of the great concentration of troops on the north-eastern and eastern frontiers of Austria, the emperor had resolved to call out 95,000 additional troops for the safety of his dominions. A leading journal, after alluding to the troops which Russia had at this time concentrated in the Polish provinces, observed: "The fact that these troops cannot move in consequence of the uncertain and menacing attitude of one, at least, of the German powers, has evidently disturbed the calculations of Russia, and compelled her to

provide for her own defence, while she was threatening to absorb the territory of her neighbours. The great strategical difficulty of the Emperor Nicholas in the war is, that he is exposed to attack on six or seven points, wholly distinct from each other, but each requiring an army for its defence. To hold possession of the principalities he requires at least 100,000 men; the Crimea demands an army of 50,000; Georgia and the Circassian coast at least as many; the kingdom of Poland an imposing body of troops capable of maintaining the inhabitants in sullen subjection, and of watching the movements both of Austria and Prussia; the Baltic provinces, Finland, and even the neighbourhood of Finland, are all liable to be assailed, especially by an enemy having fleets propelled by steam in absolute possession of the sea, and troops in sufficient numbers to throw a formidable body of men on any part of the coast."

An Austrian diplomatist stated at this time, that the young emperor was heart and soul with France and England; and, that in spite of the intrigues of the partisans of Russia at the court of Vienna, he would act as became the independent sovereign of a great empire. The conduct of the King of Prussia, however, continued to be extremely vacillating. He was said to be much influenced by his queen, who kept up a continual correspondence with her relative, the Emperor Nicholas. Politics of a sentimental character are reported to form a considerable part of this correspondence; and much was written about the double eagles of both countries having first seen the light in the same cradle; of their having been brought up in the same nest; and of the necessity of their taking their flight together.

News at length arrived from the Baltic Sea. The English fleet had captured many merchant-vessels belonging to the enemy; entered the Hango Roads on the 20th of May; and, on the 22nd, attacked the Russian fort of Gustafsvärn, at the north-western entrance of the Bay of Finland. In a brief time the fort was destroyed, and 1,500 Russians surrendered themselves as prisoners. This information was coupled with some of a very different cast. On the 12th of May, the *Tiger*, an English steam-ship of war, mounting sixteen guns, was stranded during a heavy fog, at about four miles and-a-half from Odessa, and forced to surrender to the Russians before the *Vesuvius* and *Niger*

could come to her assistance. The unfortunate vessel being left upon the shore was, of course, helpless. While in this condition, two position field-pieces were brought from the Lustdorf column, and supported by two companies of infantry and a platoon of lancers, opened their fire with such precision, that the unfortunate *Tiger* was compelled to surrender. Before doing so, the captain had his left leg shattered, and six of his crew were wounded. As the English vessel was lying on her beam, her shots flew over the battery without taking effect. Seeing his position hopeless, the lieutenant of the *Tiger*, who had taken the command, hauled down the ship's colours, and declared himself and crew prisoners of war. By the orders of General Osten-Sacken, the boats and crew were sent ashore, where the latter laid down their arms. The wounded men were sent to the quarantine. Before they could be removed, two English war-steamers were seen approaching through the fog. As the Russians had no power of getting the stranded vessel into port, and as they feared that more English vessels might arrive at any moment, they set the *Tiger* on fire, by discharging red-hot shot into her. By the time this was effected, the *Vesuvius* and the *Niger* approached within gun-range, and opened a fire upon the Russian batteries. For two hours the cannonading continued, and then the English vessels thought it prudent to retire. The loss of the Russians was very trifling, two soldiers only being killed, and two officers wounded. By about half-past seven the *Tiger* was completely destroyed. The prisoners taken by the Russians, were the wounded Captain Giffard, twenty-four officers and warrant-officers, together with 201 seamen and marines. Some of the guns of the *Tiger* were preserved and carried as trophies to Odessa. The *Furious* went to Odessa on the 14th with a flag of truce, and was allowed to send some money and clothing to the unfortunate crew of the *Tiger*. They learnt that the latter were being treated with great kindness by the Russians.

The following letter from the surgeon of the lost ship will give some further particulars, which are not without interest:—

"Odessa, May 15th.

"Dear —,— Her majesty's steamer *Tiger* struck the ground about a quarter to six on the morning of the 12th in a dense fog, ship going about four knots. On the weather clearing we found ourselves within 150 yards of the



beach under a high cliff. An anchor was immediately laid out with the hemp cable, and the guns moved aft; shot, coals, water, ballast, &c., got out; and every means taken to lighten during the three hours that we were left unmolested. At the end of that time a field-battery of about eight guns opened a most destructive fire upon us, and in about ten minutes the ship was on fire in two places, and the captain and four others struck down seriously wounded. Some of our guns had been thrown overboard, and the only one which we fired could not be used with effect, on account of the extreme elevation required. Under these circumstances, all further resistance being useless, the Russian flag was hoisted in token of surrender, and a boat sent on shore to apprise them of the fact, on which the firing instantly ceased. Orders were given for every one to leave the ship immediately, and to take what things they liked, but in the hurry very few availed themselves of the permission; for as the fog cleared up the *Vesuvius* was observed, and we were informed that if we did not come on shore the firing would recommence. Before leaving the ship I amputated the left leg of Captain Giffard, it being carried away at the knee by a shell. The right leg was also severely wounded by a piece of shell, which cut it to the bone. Mr. John Giffard had lost both legs; Trainer, captain of the mizen-top, his left leg. Hood, a boy, was riddled with pieces of shell. These three are since dead. Tanner, ordinary seaman, was wounded by a shell dangerously in various places in the thighs and left hand: both he and Captain Giffard are doing well, the latter suffering more from the wound in the right leg than from the amputation. He suffered much from the long transit from the beach to the town, between five and six miles.

"We are now lodged in the lazaretto, in comfortable rooms, and nothing can exceed the kindness and attention we receive from every one. We are well lodged, well fed, and every want attended to; indeed, we fare much better in point of eating than you can in the squadron after a month's cruise. I am writing this in a great hurry, as I see the *Furious* and *Vesuvius* in the bay with a flag of truce, and I hope to be able to send it. Lawless and myself are both in attendance on the captain, and are allowed to see our own men every day, and there is very little sickness among them. They are all cheerful and well-conducted, and allowed all possible indulgence. Yesterday seven English vessels and crews were liberated by order from St. Petersburg.

"We want nothing, and the lady of General Osten-Sacken has insisted on supplying any little comforts or luxuries, as jellies, for the captain from her own house. Personal visits have been made every day by the governor and other officials, who are all kindness."

Notwithstanding the kindness bestowed upon the unfortunate Captain Giffard, he died from the effects of his wounds, and was buried at Odessa on the 2nd of June, with military honours.

A later letter from Odessa, dated the 10th of June, stated that the English officers and men, who seemed to be in no want of money, were permitted to walk about as they pleased. The conduct of the officers was spoken of as very praiseworthy; but it was added that the common sailors every now and then took a great deal more to drink than did them good. One day they got very drunk in an Odessa gin-shop, and a general fight among themselves was the result. The foolish fellows could not be separated until a detachment of troops interfered with levelled bayonets. The Russian soldiers are no jokers, and the sight of the glittering steel restored the Jack-tars to a sense of their dangerous situation. The officers and midshipmen, it said, frequented the best houses in the place; and British and Russian officers might, evening after evening, be seen walking arm-in-arm on the Wasser glaeis, and listening to the military band. Leave nature to her own kindly impulses, and civilised men would become brothers; let despotism interfere, and they are eager to shed each other's blood. Perhaps there may come a time—let us fervently hope there will—when science will have made war so destructive, that it would be not only insanity, but annihilation to resort to it; when enemies may meet to settle their quarrels by arbitration, and part no longer foes, but brothers. It is but a day-dream—a glorious vision; but looking back on what civilisation has effected in the past, who shall say that in the future this cannot be!

In the course of the month of July, 180 officers and sailors, lately forming the crew of the *Tiger*, were exchanged at Odessa for an equal number of Russian prisoners—man for man and rank for rank. Unfortunately, the number of Russians to be exchanged fell short of the English by thirty, and therefore that number of the crew of the burnt vessel still remained in captivity.

On the 19th of May, the *Arrogant* and the *Hecla*, commanded by Captains W. H. Hall and H. R. Yelverton, planned a little expedition of their own, which was very deservedly regarded as a brilliant exploit. Captain Hall having met a fishing-boat off the coast, compelled the two men in it to

aet as pilots. Under their direction, the *Arrogant* and *Hecla* proceeded up a narrow river. Their object was to capture three merchantmen, which, to avoid them, had gone into shallow water, and anchored under shelter of a small fort at Ekness, twelve miles in the interior of the country. On coming to anchor, the *Hecla*, which was in advance, was fired upon by the enemy in a thickly-wooded spot, from behind a high sandbank. A round shot struck the *Hecla*, but happily without doing any mischief. Both vessels immediately beat to quarters, cast loose their guns, and pouring a fire into the wood and against the sandbank, quickly dislodged and silenced the enemy. Nothing further took place that night.

Before the first grey tint of dawn the vessels were again in motion, the *Hecla* leading, on account of her lighter draught of water, and both ships' companies standing by their guns. After carefully pursuing the intricate windings of the river for about three hours, they came suddenly within range of an enemy's battery. The gallant little *Hecla*, carrying six guns only, immediately opened her fire—a compliment as readily returned by the fort. The early morning light showed the promontory upon which the battery stood to be covered with soldiers—fine-looking fellows, with long grey coats and spiked steel helmets. The *Arrogant*, of 46 guns, soon approached near enough to join in the engagement, and poured her broadside among the Russian troops. They did not stand to receive a second; for as the dense cloud of smoke cleared away, a troop of horse-artillery were observed in flight. A long and heavy fire of musketry was kept up from the wood, and Minié balls fell thick on board both ships. The *Arrogant*, too large a vessel for the narrow scene of action, got aground near the fort. In this position, however, she poured forth a broadside, which dismounted the enemy's guns, and was then got off in safety. The *Hecla* then advanced further, but the *Arrogant* was obliged to anchor, on account of the shallowness of the river. Ekness was reached, and there were the three merchantmen the English war-vessels were in search of. Two were

aground and in safety; but the *Hecla*, in spite of another battery which opened upon her, and regardless of the firing from the town of Ekness, ran up alongside of the third bark, took her in tow, and steamed away with her. While she was doing so, the *Arrogant* poured showers of shot and shell upon the Russian batteries and troops, but carefully avoided firing upon the town. On returning with their prize and an iron gun they took as a trophy from one of the batteries, the two English vessels were met by the *Dauntless*, which had been sent by the admiral to ascertain the cause of the firing; the deep booming of the latter having been heard by the fleet as she was steaming into the Hango Roads. The *Arrogant* had two men killed and four wounded; the *Hecla*, one man killed and four wounded. Amongst the latter, were the gallant Captain Hall himself, who received a slight wound on the right leg from a spent rifle-ball; and Lieutenant Crew Read, who received a severe but not dangerous wound on the left cheek, which injured his eye. The gallant behaviour of Lieutenant Read was very highly spoken of in the report of Captain Yelverton. The two adventurous vessels joined the fleet on the 21st, and the commander-in-chief, on learning the particulars, hoisted the signal, "Well done *Arrogant* and *Hecla*!" The crews of all the vessels expressed their admiration of the behaviour of their gallant comrades, by giving them three hearty English cheers.\*

All the distinction to be won by isolated deeds of bravery, was, however, not to be gained by the *Hecla* and *Arrogant*. The good ship *Dragon*, during her cruise in the Gulf of Finland, reconnoitred the port of Revel. There her captain beheld two of the enemy's vessels at anchor under the batteries, and he determined to capture them, even at the risk of exposing his own vessel to severe usage. Fortunately he took up such a position, that the guns of the enemy could not be brought to bear upon him. Shot after shot was fired by the enemy, but they all fell wide of their mark, and dropped with a harmless splash into the heedless sea. In a short time the two vessels were taken captive, and towed into Hango

\* In reference to the above dashing exploit, the following letter was addressed to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and forwarded by them to Sir Charles Napier:—"My lords, I have laid before the queen the papers transmitted to me by your lordships relative to the destruction of certain batteries at Ekness; and I have received her majesty's

commands to desire that you will signify to the vice-

admiral commanding her majesty's fleet in the Baltic, her majesty's great satisfaction at the gallantry and skill displayed by the officers and men of the *Arrogant* and *Hecla* on this occasion.

"I am &c.,

"NEWCASTLE."



Bay the next morning by the relentless *Dragon*.

While these things were proceeding in the Baltic, the famous Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, reappeared in England, after a time spent in silence though not in idleness. He received an invitation to appear at Sheffield, to attend a meeting to consider the desirability of reconstituting Poland an independent nation. This he accepted, and on Monday, June the 5th, he made an oration in Paradise-square in the morning, and another at the Music-hall in the evening—explaining his views of England's duties in the great struggle then occupying the attention both of Europe and the East. M. Kossuth's views were, by a considerable body, considered erroneous and impolitic, because he denounced Austria, and considered the alliance of this country with her as an unnatural union, which could only lead to ruin. Nevertheless, there is an eloquent sincerity about M. Kossuth, and so much of truth, though clothed sometimes with the gaudy and Protean garb of error, that we shall quote some passages for the consideration of our readers. "You should insist," said he, "upon a serious issue for your sacrifices. You should insist that no power shall still be left to despotism and despots to drive you into new wars, by encroaching upon the freedom, the rights, and the independence of nations. You should insist to attain, by your present sacrifices, a true and lasting peace. Now, neither of these aims can be attained without Poland, Hungary, and Italy be restored to their national rights; and especially Russia's overwhelming power cannot be reduced without Poland being reconstructed an independent nation with its national territory; nor can the integrity and independence of Turkey be secured, without a free and independent Hungary. All these aims would be subverted by England taking despotic Austria for her ally. Then you would fight for Austrian despotism, and not for freedom."

In the evening, M. Kossuth contended that England, by permitting the czar to partition Poland and to accomplish "the daring crime of armed intervention in Hungary," had encouraged him to usurp the Turkish territory. It was, he said, a charter of impunity granted to the czar for encroaching upon the liberties of Europe. "If there ever," continued the orator, "was a truth striking beyond any doubt, it is the truth

that, except Finland, it is only in Poland, and by Poland, that Russia is vulnerable. Bombarding Odessa, Sebastopol, Cronstadt, taking Russian prizes, burning the Russian fleet (if you can get at it), nay, burning St. Petersburg itself,—all this may be very noisy, good food for the newspapers; but it is merely a palliative;—nothing of a permanent effect. The Russians might, perhaps, themselves burn St. Petersburg, as they have burnt Moscow: you will not be the better by it. If your purpose is to fight Russian despotism—if your aim is to check Russian ascendancy and to reduce Russian preponderance, it is in Poland and by Poland that you must act, or you will never attain your aim;—never." The reason, said the orator, that England did not assist Poland to declare its freedom was from sheer complacency for Austria and Prussia. To pet Austria, England neglected to do that without which she could not succeed in the war. "Be forewarned, people of England," cried M. Kossuth, "be forewarned. Look to history. There, in the mirror of the past, thine own future is daguerrotyped. Remember the campaign of Napoleon to Moscow in 1812. Napoleon undertook to check the crowning ascendancy of Russia, just as you do now. And with all due regard for the Lord Raglans and Maréchal St. Arnauds, be it said, the little corporal knew something about war. He knew that Russia, though not very formidable abroad, is anything but weak in defence at home. The force which he employed amounted to 600,000 men, 182,000 horses, and 1,372 guns. What is the Anglo-French army in the East compared to this? A Chobham camp-parade. He knew that it was not on sea that a decisive battle could be fought against Russia: he went on by land. He knew that without a large cavalry there was no possibility to hold a bivouac for twenty-four hours against a Russian army, and he took care to have much cavalry. He did not even neglect the pitiful expedient or substituting to Polish nationality the idea of Polish legions, just as you begin to do now in the East. Besides, he also looked for alliances, just as you do. Only, less a politician than a soldier, he addressed himself to wrong quarters; he addressed himself to Austria and Prussia, precisely as your government does. But he had stronger claims on the fidelity of Austria than you have. Having to dispose of the existence of Austria, he just pardoned her, saved her,

and, to make the alliance sure, he married the daughter of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. Both Austria and Prussia yielded to the courtings of the mighty Cæsar—became his allies, and gave him two cavalry armies against Russia. You know the rest. Napoleon lost 552,000 men, 167,000 horses, and 1,222 guns. One of his allies betrayed him on the battle-field; the other compromised him by inactivity: both turned against him, and sent him to die, a fettered giant, on the rocks of St. Helena. You have been taught by superficial professors in your schools, that it was the generals Frost and Famine which defeated Napoleon. No: he was defeated by having taken Austria and Prussia for allies." After an eloquent speech of more than an hour, M. Kossuth, in concluding, again warned his audience that an alliance between England and Austria would be unsound, unnatural, and subversive of any aim which England might rationally contemplate by the war.

That there is much soundness and much of a broad humanity in the views of

M. Kossuth, cannot be denied. Austria is a doubtful ally, an ally of whom England cannot be too cautious; but, at the same time, it is better to have her in this great struggle as a friend than as an enemy. Austria will not draw the sword from a love for England, but from a fear of Russia—from a dread of that dangerous neighbour whose tremendous power hangs like a dark cloud over her, threatening destruction. Austria, despotic as it is, must be true to its own interests. With respect to Poland, England and France should have interfered to save it: they are now paying a penalty for not having done so; but we think this is not the hour for the restoration of that prostrate land. We fear that to proclaim the independence of Poland, would—although it might at the eleventh hour—restore the stricken goddess of continental liberty; for a time convulse Europe with warlike and revolutionary spasms, and drown despotism and wrong in deep and awful streams of blood. We dare not even purchase freedom at such a price.

## CHAPTER X.

THE LOSS OF THE EUROPA TRANSPORT; BLOCKADE OF THE BALTIC; PROCEEDINGS AT BRAHESTAD, ULEABORG, AND GAMBA-KARLEBY; AUSTRIA ENTERS INTO A TREATY WITH TURKEY, AND SENDS A SUMMONS TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA; REMOVAL OF THE ALLIED ARMIES TO VARNA; A GLANCE AT VARNA; THE SIEGE OF SILISTRIA; RAISING THE SIEGE; REPLY OF NICHOLAS TO THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

THE courage of the soldier and the sailor are subject to trials which are often as severe, and sometimes much more so, as those they are exposed to during the fierce shock and storm of battle. One event of this character it is our painful duty to relate. We allude to the destruction, by fire, of the transport-ship *Europa*.

This vessel, of 841 tons, was considered one of the finest out of the port of London, and a troop-ship that had not its superior for completeness in all essentials. She sailed from Plymouth on the morning of the 30th of May, with a division of the Enniskillen dragoons, consisting of five serjeants and fifty-four rank and file, together with the commanding officer and staff, and fifty-three horses. She also carried an extra weight of forage, which probably became overheated, and thus led to the terrible accident. The fated ship, after being towed by a steamer fairly

into the channel, made sail, and all went well till ten o'clock on the second night, when, at the distance of 180 miles from England, a cry was raised of "Fire in the forehold!"

The ominous words went through the ship like an electric shock, and immediately all hands were upon the alert. Captain Gardner ran below, and found the fire already burning fiercely in the forepeak, where a quantity of hawsers, rope, tar, pitch, varnish, and sails had been stowed. The ammunition was immediately thrown overboard; and the pumps which had been fitted, by order of the government, to supply the troops with water from the tanks, had hose attached to them, and together with those belonging to the ship's pumps, were taken below, and the jets of foaming, hissing waters hurled amidst the burning mass. The soldiers also laboured vigorously in passing buckets of water to those below, to



check the furious element; but their exertions were in vain. The flames spread with such rapidity, that in a little while they were roaring up the fore-hatchway in tremendous columns, and thus cutting off all communication with the fore part of the ship. Dense columns of smoke also overhung the main-deck like a fiery cloud, threatening suffocation.

Within half-an-hour from the time that the startling cry of fire had resounded through the ship, all hopes of saving her perished. A rush was then made to the boats, but the men were restrained by the brave Lieutenant-colonel Moore and the officers under his command. The boats were lowered and filled with men—all except the largest one, which, by some strange previous negligence or mismanagement, the crew were unable to launch. The life-boat, with five-and-twenty persons in it, pushed off, and boat and crew were taken up during the night by the barque *Maranan*, of Dundee. A second boat, with twenty-six persons on board, was carried out to sea and rowed towards a light, which turned out to be a Prussian schooner, the captain of which kindly received the unhappy crew. The third boat did not leave the vessel until about half-past eleven at night, when not only the main-deck, but the mast and rigging aloft were in flames. In it were Lieutenant Black (the admiralty agent), the second mate, and some soldiers. The heroic Lieutenant-colonel Moore remained at his post to the last, having repeatedly declined to leave the burning vessel until all his men had been safely removed. Unhappily, he died a martyr to a high sense of duty; for he was at last driven into the mizen-channels by the violence of the flames, and there perished. "The mainmast," said Captain Gardner, in his account of this fatal accident, "went at two o'clock, then the foremast, and the ship rounded immediately afterwards; it was blowing very hard at the time, with a very heavy short sea on, and raining heavily. I will not further dwell upon this painful moment than to add, that as the ship rounded with head to wind, the fire spread over to where we were, and burnt us out, compelling us to seek shelter in any way we could. A number of men took to the wreck of the mainmast, and some were lost in attempting to make it. I, with the carpenter, got over to leeward, and found very great difficulty in getting under the weather-channel and making along the bands, to see

if there was any more unburnt wood to hold on by; but we were driven into the forechains, the half of which were still unburnt. Suffice it to say, that at three o'clock the boat of the brig *Clemanthe*, Captain Pike, came up and took us out of the forechains. The boat also picked up ten men from off the spars of the wreck. One man died in the boat."

At half-past seven the next morning, the attention of the crew of the steam-frigate *Tribune* was arrested by a column of smoke ascending into the air in the distance. The *Tribune* made for the spot, and in less than two hours discovered the remains of the unfortunate *Europa* burnt down to the water's edge abaft, with the bows only remaining above water. That blackened, smouldering hull alone was visible, and not a living creature could be seen. Shortly afterwards the wreck sunk into the deep blue waters, leaving the surface of the sea, then gilded with the bright rays of an early summer's sun, covered with charred and floating timbers, hen-coops, hay, and casks: a trooper's stirrup, and a pair of military fatigue-trowsers among them, completed the melancholy memorial, and indicated the nature of the ship, and the fate of those who were on board of it. No doubt, the first emotion was that all had perished; but even as it was, one-and-twenty ill-fated persons met their death that dreadful night. They consisted of two officers, six non-commissioned officers, ten private soldiers, two of the ship's company, and one woman.

Just before this sad accident, the lords commissioners of the admiralty received from Sir Charles Napier a communication, dated Hango Bay, May 28th, informing them that the ports of Libau and Windau, on the coast of Courland, and other ports, roads, havens, or creeks, to as far north as Cape Dager Ort were in a state of blockade by a competent force. It added, that all ports, roads, havens, or creeks, eastward from Cape Dager Ort, including Hapsal, Wormso Island, Port Baltic, Revel, and all other intermediate ports on the coast of Esthonia, as far as Ekholm Light, and thence in a northward direction as far as Helsingfors and Sweaborg, on the coast of Finland; continuing westward, Baro Sound, Hango Head, Oro, and Abo, including the Aland Archipelago and intermediate ports; thence north, including Nystad, Bjorneborg, Christinestadt, Vasa, Walgrund Islands, Little Karleby, Icobstad, Great Karleby, Lahts, Kalawki, Brahestad,

Uleaborg, Karle Island, Tio, Gestila, Tornea, and all intermediate Russian ports, roads, havens, and creeks in the Gulf of Bothnia were in a similar condition. Thus, in one great outlet, the external trade of Russia was paralysed. Other but not important information reached England occasionally, of mischief done to Russian property. Thus, on the 10th of May, the *Amphion* and *Conflict* took the little town of Libau, and all the shipping in the port, merely by the terror of their arms, and without a shot being fired. The shipping captured consisted of eight merchant-vessels, all new and well-found, but dismantled, and some scuttled and aground. The private property on board of them was generously restored to the owners, on application for it. Again, on the 30th of May, three English steamers, under the direction of Admiral Plumridge, destroyed the ships, dockyards, and stores at Brahestad, in the north of the Gulf of Bothnia, and damage was done to the amount of 350,000 roubles. The following day several vessels were captured off Uleaborg; and on the 1st of June, four steamers destroyed the ships, dockyards, and stores at Uleaborg—400,000 roubles' damage being done on that occasion. At Brahestad 12,000 tons of tar, with five large vessels of 1,000 lasts each, were burnt, together with a quantity of planks and deals, used for ship-building. At Uleaborg, eight ships on the stocks, nearly finished; four old ones; together with about 18,000 tons of pitch and tar, were given to the flames.\*

Soon afterwards, on the 7th of June, an attempt of the same kind, by the flying squadron of Admiral Plumridge, on the town of Gamba-Karleby, terminated unfortunately, if not with disgrace. This town is situated on a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia, some miles to the south of Brahestad, and has a trading population of 1,800 persons;—an unimportant place enough; scarcely more than a village; and one would think hardly capable, with all the local assistance it could procure, to drive off two British war-steamers. Such, however, was the

case. Nine sloops of sixteen oars, and sixteen of twenty oars, each armed with a gun, put off from the ships. One of the boats, under a flag of truce, came close to the shore, and the officer on board of it made the usual demand that the vessels and warlike stores in the harbour and town should be given up. The reply was a refusal, and the officer withdrew threatening to enter the town by force. About eleven o'clock at night, when it is still light at this period in these high latitudes, nine boats put off from the steamers, and advancing towards the shore, endeavoured to effect a landing. The inhabitants had not been idle in the interim, and the invaders were opposed by two Finland companies of the line and 100 armed inhabitants of the town. Favoured by the locality and the country buildings, they received the sailors with a cannonade and a fire, to which the artillery and musketry of the latter replied without much effect. The combat lasted until midnight, and the English were then obliged to retire with the loss of one of the boats of the *Odin*, some of the crew of which were killed, and the rest, amounting to twenty-two scamen, taken prisoners. In the boat were six dead bodies, one of them being that of the officer lately in command of it. With the boat the Russians also captured its flag, a bronze cannon of large calibre, munitions, guns, pistols, and the whole of its armament. Two other boats were so much damaged that they were obliged to be towed away by the rest. This petty attack was not repeated, and such laurels as could be gained from it remained with the Russians. Many people in England fancied that it would have been better for the fleet to have engaged in some great action, than to fritter away its exertions in what seemed little better than mere predatory attempts. The total loss of the English in this petty affair amounted, in killed, wounded, and missing, to fifty-four men.

The French fleet, under the orders of

\* The official despatches, addressed by Sir Charles Napier to the secretary of the admiralty, are necessarily devoid of interest to a general reader; but we insert the following summary of them:—"Sir, I beg leave to inclose Admiral Plumridge's report of his proceedings in the Gulf of Bothnia, from the 5th of May to the 10th of June, by which their lordships will observe, that he has destroyed forty-six vessels, afloat and on the stocks, amounting to 11,000 tons; from 40,000 to 50,000 barrels of pitch and tar; 60,000 square yards of rough pitch; a great

number of stacks of timber, spars, planks, and deals, sails, rope, and various kinds of naval stores; to the amount of from £300,000 to £400,000, without the loss of a man. Admiral Plumridge has had to contend with innumerable rocks and shoals, incorrectly laid down in the charts, and met the ice up to the 30th of May; nevertheless, though several of his squadron have touched the ground, I am happy to say that they have received no damage that he is not able to repair with his own means." It is said these stores were to be used by Russia in building gun-boats.



Vice-admiral Parseval Deschênes, joined that of England on the 13th of June. The united maritime forces (in the Baltic) of the two nations, therefore, amounted to fifty-four sail, armed with 2,726 guns, and supplied with 29,150 seamen and marines. The grandeur of such a display of naval power is difficult of description. Suffice it to say, that off the island of Renskar, in Baro Sound, under the flags of the two great maritime powers of the world, floated such a forest of masts as had never been seen before. The greatest harmony prevailed between both sailors and commanders of the French and English fleets. The day after the junction of the fleets, Sir Charles Napier, accompanied by Rear-admirals Cory and Chads, paid an official visit to the French admiral, on board the *Inflexible*. The French received them with honourable enthusiasm, and the following day Admiral Parseval Deschênes returned the visit.

A Swedish paper of this period contained the following curious information concerning the corrupt character of Russian officials. It related that the commander of Sweaborg had been dismissed from his office, and sent to prison. He had not only stolen the copper roof of the fortress, but had even extended his acquisitive propensities to guns and ammunition. He had destroyed two of the bastions and planted orchards on them, and instead of cannon-shot he had heaped together wooden balls painted black!

We mentioned that Austria had considered it necessary to add 95,000 men to her military establishment, for the safety of her empire. She now took other steps, away from Russia, and in the direction of Turkey and the western powers. One was, to enter into an alliance with Turkey, for the purpose of assisting that power to reclaim the Danubian provinces from the then relaxing grasp of the czar. The principal conditions of it were, that if Russia retired voluntarily from the principalities, the Austrian troops, with the concurrence of the Porte, would enter them, and thus act as a defence to Turkey against future aggression. If Russia refused to retire, it was agreed that Austria should take such measures as might be necessary to compel her to do so. The Austrian troops were, however, only to enter the principalities for the sake of restoring tranquillity, and they were not to remain in them longer than was necessary for the safety of those territories from Russian aggression. To be in readiness for this

purpose, the Austrian forces, under General Schlick, had advanced to the extreme north-eastern front of Galicia. The passes of the Carpathians were already watched, and occupied on each side by detachments of the respective Russian and Austrian armies.

The other step taken by Austria, and supported by Prussia, was the sending a summons to the Emperor of Russia, requesting him to relinquish his "material guarantee," and recall his troops from the Danubian provinces. In this summons the Austrian government renounced all claim to be considered as a mediator between Russia and the western powers; but in polite though positive language, it requested the St. Petersburg cabinet to specify exactly the time when the imperial troops would have returned to their own country, and trusted that the time named would not be a very distant one. The answer to this request we shall allude to when we have described an important and brilliant circumstance that influenced it.

Early in June, 10,000 English troops were brought from Scutari down the Bosphorus, and across a portion of the Black Sea, to Varna. This movement gave satisfaction to the most active spirits who longed to mingle in the strife, because Varna is near the seat of war, and from it the troops could readily march to Silistria. An account of the voyage is admirably written by a correspondent of the *Times*, who accompanied the expedition. Too much praise can scarcely be bestowed upon the word-pictures—sun-pictures, some have called them—of this adventurous gentleman. The following is a portion of his description of the passage of the Bosphorus and the Black Sea:—"It was five o'clock ere the last steamer which had to wait for the transports got under weigh again, and night had set in before they reached the entrance of the Black Sea. As they passed the forts (which are pretty frequent towards the Euxine), the sentries yelled out strange challenges, and burned blue lights, and blue lights answered from our vessels in return; so that at times the whole of the scene put one in mind of a grand fairy spectacle, and it did not require much imagination to believe that the trees were the work of Grieve; that Stanfield had dashed in the water and ships; that the forts were of pasteboard; and the clouds of gauze lighted up by a property man; while those moustachioed soldiers, with red fez caps or tartan bouches, eccentric blue coats and breeches,

and white belts, might fairly pass for Surrey supernumeraries. Out go the blue lights!—we are all left as blind as owls at noontide; but our eyes recover; the stars at last begin to twinkle; two lights shine, or rather blear, hazily on either bow—they mark the opening of the Bosphorus into the Euxine. We shoot past them, and a farewell challenge and another blue halo show the sentries are wide awake. We are in the Black Sea; and lo! sea, and sky, and land, are at once shut out from us! A fog, a drifting, clammy, nasty mist, bluish-white, and cold and raw, falls down on us like a shroud, damps out the stars and all the lights of heaven, and steals with a slug-like pace down yard, and mast, and stays, sticks to the face and beard, renders the deck dark as a graveyard, and forces us all down to a rubber and coffee. This is genuine Black Sea weather. . . . In the morning the same haze continued drifting about and hugging the land; but once it rose and discovered a steamer close in-shore, with a transport cast off from her, and hovering about just as a hen watches a chicken. The *Vesuvius* fired a gun, and after some time the steamer tried to take the transport in tow again, and proceeded to rejoin the squadron. We subsequently found it was the *Megara*. The line of land was marked by a bank of white clouds, and the edge of the sea horizon was equally obscured. About half-past three the bay of Varna was visible, with the masts of some large vessels just peering up ahead; and the *Victoria*, her majesty's ship *Vesuvius*, &c., ran in and anchored before six o'clock. The *Bellerophon*, 74, Lord G. Paulet; the *Henri Quatre* (French), 90, and an Ottoman steamer, were lying in the roadstead, close to the town; and transports, Nos. 1, 2, 18, 27, 46, &c., busily engaged landing stores and men."

The next day, General Canrobert and a staff of officers arrived in the *Caton*, and shortly afterwards proceeded to call on Sir George Brown. Besides the general, 12,000 French troops were soon encamped at Varna. The following panoramic glance at this Bulgarian town, from the pen of a military man, will be read with pleasure by those who like to have a vivid and tangible idea of the various places rendered memorable by this great war:—

"Varna is such a town as only could have been devised by a nomadic race aping the habits of civilised nations. If the lances are not so painful to walk upon as those of Gal-

lipoli; if they are not so crooked and inextricable; if they are not so rugged and fantastically devious;—it is only because nature has set the efforts of man at defiance, and has forbidden the Turk to make a town built upon a plain as unpleasant to perambulate as one founded on an irregular surface. After a cruise of upwards of 100 miles, by shores which remind one, when they can be seen through fogs and vapours, of the coast of Devonshire, and which stretch away on the western side of the Black Sea, in undulating folds of green sward rising one above the other, or swell into hilly peaks all covered with fine herbage and natural plantations of the densest foliage, so that the scenery has a park-like and cultivated air, which is only belied by the search of the telescope, the vessel bound to Varna rounds a promontory of moderate height on the left, and, passing by an earthen fort perched on the summit, anchors in a semicircular bay, about a mile and-a-half in length and two miles across, on the northern side of which is situate the town, so well known by its siege in 1829. The bay shoals up to the beach at the apex of the semicircle formed by its shores, and the land is so low at that point that the fresh waters from the neighbouring hills form a large lake, which extends for some distance through the marsh lands and plains that run westward towards Shumla. Varna is built on a slightly elevated bank of sand, on the verge of the sea, of such varying height that, in some places, the base of the walls around it is on the level of the water, and at others stands twenty or thirty feet above it. Below this bank are a series of plains inland, which spread all round the town, till they are lost in the hills which, dipping into the sea in an abrupt promontory on the north-east side, rise in terraces to the height of 700 or 800 feet at the distance of three miles from the town, and trend away to the westward to meet the corresponding chain of hills on the southern extremity of the bay, thus enclosing the lake and plains between in a sort of natural wall, which is, like all the rest of the country, covered with brushwood and small trees. It is said also to abound in game; but as yet our guns have only succeeded in adding to the *pot-au-feu* some doves and wood-pigeons, and a venerable hare of much rigidity. A stone wall of ten feet high, painted white, and loopholed, is built all around the place; and some detached batteries, well provided with heavy guns, but not of much



pretension as works of defence, have been erected in advance of the walls on the land side. On the sea-face four batteries are erected, provided with heavy guns also: two of them of earthwork and fascines, &c.; the other two built with stone parapets and embrasures. Peering above these walls, in an irregular jumble of red-tiled roofs, are the houses of the place, with a few minarets towering from the mosques above them. The angles of the works are irregular, but in most instances the walls are so constructed as to admit of a fair amount of flanking fire on an assailing force. Nevertheless, the bank on which the town is built is so uneven, that a portion of the inner side of the walls could be swept from a fleet in the bay, and other parts are equally accessible to the fire of batteries on the trifling hillocks around the town. In one battery on the sea-face I counted eight 32-pounders; and there are also some 56-pounders on the upper battery, overlooking the entrance to the harbour. The earthworks are deep and well made, and the guns seemed carefully kept and in excellent order. The houses of the town are built of wood, painted white, blue, brown, saffron, and yellow; but, for the most part, they exhibit but little of the brightness of the original colouring, and the roofings of broken red tile, combined with the general dilapidated look of the plank sheathings of the side walls, give the whole place an appearance of decay, which is not much belied by the 'interiors' of the habitations. These houses are all of wood, and present nothing but a door and gable-wall towards the street, so that the aspect of the place is that of a tumble-down old prison from end to end.

"A tent is one of the most secluded residences in the world; once inside, with the flaps shut, and you are lost to every eye. There is no window or door through which its inhabitant can be seen, and its privacy even in a camp is absolute. The Turk seems never to have forgotten the traditions of his descent, and builds his house to resemble a tent as much as possible. His windows rarely look upon the street, and, if they do so, are latticed and shuttered closely. Generally, they look out on a courtyard, provided with some tumble-down sheds, a well, and as many flowers and trees as can force their way through the hardened earthen floor of the enclosure. A high stone wall shuts out each mansion from its neighbour, and the doors, which perforce must open on

the street, are shut the instant the occasion for their opening ceases. Thus, as you wander through hot lanes presenting one eternal blank of stone walls and unpainted doorways, topped by tiled gables, and hear no sound within, except the wailing of an infant and the sharp cry of the kite soaring overhead, or the growl of the dog half-awakened by your step as he basks in the middle of the narrow path, you might think the place stricken by the plague, and destitute of life, but that now and then a door opens and a pile of red or yellow or bright blue cloth, surmounted by the white folds of the yashmak, and terminating in light yellow boots, emerges, and at your presence rushes in again, or takes a precipitate motion across the street, and dashes in at an opposite door, or a ragged porter with a water-jar shuffles along and eyes the infidel sullenly as he goes by. In the heat of the mid-day, when the sun blazes down into those straitened streets, the silence is absolutely oppressive, and it is a relief to hear the twittering song of the swallow as he clings to the roof. Varna, nevertheless, contains 13,000 or 14,000 inhabitants. There is more bustle, animation, and life in the smallest hamlet in Dorsetshire than here, unless you go down to the landing-place, or visit the bazaar, where the inhabitants flock for work or business. Towards evening there are more people moving about, and the Muezzin breaks the silence with his shrill and boy-like voice. I do not know why travellers have united in describing the summons of the Muezzin to the faithful as 'deep-mouthed,' 'bass,' 'hoarse,' &c. It is pitched in a high key, and is resonant and searching; so that when you look up to the gallery around the minaret, and see the venerable gray beard of the vocalist, you are rather astonished to find he can make such a noise, and that it is from the throat of a man it issues. At night there is no need to complain of silence. From the lanes, the shambles, the beach, the doorways, the *café* benches, where they lay sleeping and growling all day, swarms of dogs unite in one horrible concert of snarling, barking, fighting, and yelping hour after hour, as they scour through the town to act as the scavengers of the place, and the mangled carcasses in the lanes in the morning show that these feuds are sometimes deadly, and cats and monstrous rats, all flattened out with bites, lie as proofs of their prowess when morning comes. These beasts rarely attack strangers,

especially if they carry lights and are handy with stick and stone; but they make a display of teeth and ill-temper which meets with sore treatment from the wandering Briton. There are three small jetties of wood opposite the principal gate of the town, and a beach of a few yards broad between the sea and the foot of the walls serves as a landing-place for lighter boats. On this beach are heaped up vast quantities of shot and shell of every size, all rusty and empty. They are lying in tens of thousands on the ground, and range in size from one inch up to seven or eight inches in diameter. Whence they came, or for what they are intended, I could not ascertain; but most likely they would be used loose as grape, in case of attack, though but ill-suited for that purpose from their lightness. There are, however, some round and solid shot among them. Inside the wall, just at the same place, are about 100 wickerwork baskets, full of the rustiest, roughest, and most ill-made grapeshot that can be conceived. They are truly grapeshot, for they resemble that fruit in shape, and are generally provided with ample stems and shanks which have not been taken off in the casting.

"The sentries at the gate are Turkish infantry, young thick-set and sinewy-looking men, with bow-legs and ill-shaped feet, with stooping shoulders and a slouching gait. They are dressed in the eternal red fez cap with its brass button at the top, the distinctive mark of the *militaire*; their burnt faces are well decorated with hair; an ill-fitting blue frock coat, single-breasted, with plain brass buttons, and sometimes trimmed with red facings, hangs about them with all the indifference of a 'contract coat.' A pair of snowy white crossbelts sustain the bayonet-sheath and cartouch-box, and a pair of ragged trowsers, quite destitute of nap, threadbare, and whitened, complete the uniform. One hint we might take even from the Turks—their belts are always white and clean. They are made of enamelled leather, and, if it could only be got good enough for the purpose, I humbly think it might be adopted in our armies, and save the soldiers a world of trouble, time, and annoyance in pipeclaying, while it got rid of all the implements for the process which now take up so much valuable space. It should not be omitted that the Turkish soldier is the worst shod in the world. It is part of his religion to be so. His feet are always incased in thin slippers

of the most miserable manufacture; and the reason assigned for it is, that they are easily put off when he says his prayers—a very proper ceremony, which the authorities encourage to the utmost, though it occurs three or four times a-day. It is ludicrous to see a Turkish official shuffling about with a pair of large spurs stuck into the heels of his decayed papooshes, which he can scarcely keep on his feet as he walks. And this suggests an important consideration. So long as the Turkish army is shod as it is, it *never can* march well. Behind stone-walls, in the breach, and in garrison, they are the bravest of the brave; but I verily believe they could not, if the safety of the empire depended on it, make a forced march, or continue one of fifteen miles a-day for a week, either for the purposes of retreat or attack. While they were an army of cavalry, this practice did not matter much, particularly as the wide Turkish stirrup protected the foot; but infantry must knock up, on hard roads and in bad weather, with such shoeing. It would be curious to inquire how much the decay of the Osmanli may depend on the soles of their shoes since they ceased to be an equestrian army, and assumed European tactics and formation, without abandoning the most objectionable portion of their Mohammedan attire. The Egyptians, who are encamped in various small bodies to the number or 2,000 around the town, are clad in the same way as the Turks, but are rather more ragged. They are very dark and meagre men, and do not appear to possess the physical strength of the Turks; but they are not so bow-legged, and appear better set upon their feet. Their tents are of white—the old colour was green—and are kept tolerably clean; but outside the lines there is always a heap or two of offal, cowhides, &c., emitting a noisome odour, and necessarily prejudicial to the health of the men. The officers are only to be known from the men by their gold-embroidered cimeter-belts, and by the varied patterns of their trowsers. Uniformity in the latter garment the officers never dream of, and choose cut and colour as they please; so that it is rather amusing to observe the variety of hue on the legs of one regiment, the only thing in common to all being that they wear straps—not to keep down the trowsers, but to keep on the slipper. On going through the streets one may see the best houses marked with chalk, No. 1, 2, &c. This was done by the French when they landed; but they have divided the



quarters with the English staff. Marshal St. Arnaud sent off two officers there, and invited Lord Raglan to do the same, in order to appropriate quarters; but as the French went before the English could join them, it was considered best to let the former arrange the whole matter as they thought fit. Sir George Brown has got a tolerable house, perched on a hill over the sea-side; and his staff, Captain Macdonald, Captain Pearson, &c., live with him. Dr. Dumbreck, the principal medical officer, has pretty good quarters close by; and Colonel Sullivan, deputy adjutant-general, also has a roof over him. Brigadier Airey resides in his tent close to his brigade. Captain Hallowell, the assistant quartermaster-general (second in command to the quartermaster-general of the division, Major Airey), and the engineer officers, Captain Gordon, Captain Hassard, Mr. Martin, &c., are under canvas by the wall at the sea-gate. Doctors Alexander and Tice are at the camp with their division."

In our last chapter we mentioned that the Russians were gathering enormous bodies of troops at Kalarasch, opposite to Silistria, and we will now relate the particulars of the siege and heroic defence of that fortified town.

First, concerning the place itself. The reader who refers to the admirable map of the Black-Sea and the surrounding states, which forms one of the illustrations of this history, will observe that Silistria is a city of European Turkey, situated on the right bank of the Danube, and fifty-seven miles north-north-east of Shumla, the head-quarters of Omar Pasha. Silistria contains above 20,000 inhabitants: the houses are built of wood, and most of them only one story high. Its principal building is a large Greek church and convent, begun during the years of Russian occupation, when Silistria was the chief pledge for the fulfilment of the treaty of Adrianople. Large sums were spent upon it by the Emperor Nicholas; but in consequence of the customary roguery of Russian officials it was neglected, and is now a ruin. Silistria is nearly of a semicircular form, with five bastions on the river base, and five on the land side, or seven if the corner ones be included. All the scarps and counter-scarps are of solid stone masonry. There is no *contregarde*, or other complicated extension of the Vauban system. The old fortifications of Silistria were neglected and suffered to fall to partial decay; but of late years the placid Turks have become aware

of the value of this town, and its defences were repaired and added to.

The great strength of Silistria now consists in its detached forts, the chief of which is that of Abdul-Medjid, on the hill of Akbar. It is situated at the back of the town, and supported on each side by other forts to the right and left, the whole enclosing an oval space. Fort Abdul-Medjid is the key of all; and the new fortifications of Silistria have been compared to a bracelet, of which the town is the jewel and the great fort the clasp; the two being connected by minor forts forming a semicircle on each side. A military writer, speaking of these defences, says: "Fort Abdul-Medjid, constructed according to the designs of the Prussian Colonel Gutzkowski, is allowed by all military men to be one of the most remarkable works of this age. Turkey, from her fine territory and her brave and resolute race, has the raw materials for the revival of a powerful state; but it is European science that alone can utilise them. This fort is of a semi-octagonal form; and situate on the chief eminence that dominates Silistria, commands a fine view of the town, the Danube, and the wooded islands below. In the centre of the base, or section of the semi-octagon next Silistria, is a beautiful redoubt, all shell-proof, semicircular in plan, as may be understood by the term; the vaulting of the extremest solidity, so as to afford a secure refuge in the severest bombardment. Outside this is an esplanade, and then the pentagonal rampart, beyond which is a wall loopholed for infantry, completely sunk between the rampart and the covered way, with three shell-proof block-houses (two on the shoulder angles and one on the base), each mounted with two 12-pound howitzers to sweep the fosse with conical balls, according to the new system. Fort Abdul-Medjid is supported by three forts on neighbouring eminences, which preclude a *locus standi* for an enemy, and yet are commanded by Medjid itself. Down in the plain, two forts, Tchair and Liman, shut in Silistria to the west on the side of Turtukai; another, Dairmem, or the Windmill, shuts in the plain to the east; and, lastly, one also to the east, close to the Danube, not only commands the breadth of the river, but also the passage whence gun-boats might debouch from the islands in the Danube, being mounted with bronze 42-pounders."

The Russians, who had even at first about 35,000 men opposite Silistria, gave out that

they expected to be able to take it in a week ; but although they commenced the bombardment in April, they confined themselves during that month to operations of no great moment. Indeed, they did very little more than erect a 12-gun battery on an island opposite Silistria, and make a communication between the island and the main-land by a pontoon-bridge. Active proceedings against Silistria did not commence until the 11th of May ; and from that date until the 22nd of June, when the baffled Russians abandoned the siege, we have an excellent account of the proceedings in the journal kept by the brave Lieutenant Nasmyth, the friend and companion of the late heroic Captain J. A. Butler. Both of them had offered their services to Mussa Pasha, the commander of the Turkish forces in Silistria, and acted with a conspicuous bravery which has gained for them a line in the military annals of their country. To Lieutenant Nasmyth's journal we are principally indebted for the facts of our account of this memorable and glorious achievement of eastern valour.

On the 11th of May the Russians commenced a cannonade, and their shells fell and burst into deadly iron showers among the streets and houses of the town. The screaming women and children rushed wildly about seeking for shelter, and the terrified inhabitants collected their goods and hurried with them to the subterranean rooms they had constructed in anticipation of the event. In a little while the streets were silent and deserted. The Turks replied in a spirited manner to the cannonade of the Russians, and the two English officers were struck with the admirable manner in which the Turkish artillerymen worked their guns. Their mortar practice was excellent, most of the shells bursting in or immediately over the Russian batteries. That of the Russians was described as very slovenly. One of the Englishmen observing an 8-inch shell fired by the Russians with the fusee uncapped, was told that such a thing was by no means an unusual occurrence with them. The firing lasted between three and four hours, and the shattered roofs and broken walls of the town showed that even with the defective gunnery of the Russians, much mischief had been effected.

On the 15th, a body of Russian troops were reported to be approaching from Rassova, and 2,000 Bashi-Bazouks were dispatched in that direction to arrest their progress. They encountered the Russian

advanced guard at the bridge of Boothook, and drove them back on it, but were afterwards repulsed with the loss of twelve killed and sixteen wounded, and retired on the Turkish outpost above Ada Kien. During that night the Russian soldiers were heard on the island of Hoppa, carousing and passing their time in song—animated, no doubt, by a confident hope of soon occupying pleasant quarters at Silistria.

The next day (the 16th) the Russians opened a fire from their batteries on the islands at five in the morning, and continued to throw shot and shell into the town throughout the day. The advanced guard of the Russian force from Rassova came in sight about ten, skirmishing with the Turkish irregular cavalry. The Russians commenced the construction of a bridge of boats from the island of Schiblak in the river, to the land on the right side, and a great part of the day was spent in skirmishing ; but the killed were not very numerous. Terms of capitulation were that day offered to Mussa Pasha, but the brave Turk rejected them with contempt.

The regular operations of the siege may be dated from the 17th. On that day the cannonade commenced at daybreak, and continued until about seven in the evening. Day after day passed on, and the attack and the defence were carried forward with equal vigour. Repeated storming parties were directed against the intrenchments ; mines and counter-mines overthrew the works and convulsed the soil ; and both within and without the fortifications, blood sank into the earth in horrible profusion. To relate all the incidents of this severe struggle, in which the Russians fought for the preservation of their honour and to avoid disgrace, and the Turks for their national freedom, would be tedious and useless to all except the military reader. The most important events of that wild and hard-fought contest will be sufficient. It should not be forgotten that the poor Turkish soldiers in Silistria cast many a longing glance in the direction of Varna, and daily expected help, not only from their own countrymen, but from the French and English, who had crossed the seas to afford them assistance. Once the officers got up a sweepstakes, to name the day on which they should be relieved, each mentioning the one he thought most probable. Their expectations were in vain : for some mysterious reason, the allies passed their time in idleness at Scutari, and



the Turks at Silistria were left to their own resources and their own undaunted efforts. Reports were constantly spread abroad that Silistria had fallen, and the Russians were triumphant; but still the allies rested in apathy. Their singular conduct reminds us of the language of our poet Shakspeare, in reference to that of Achilles, when wasting his time in wanton idleness before the walls of Troy:—

“A stirring dwarf we do allowance give  
Before a sleeping giant.”

The 24th of May being the anniversary of the birthday of our queen, Lieutenant Nasmyth and his friend, Captain Butler, drank her majesty's health in a mug full of sour wine, as no better was to be had. They also received the welcome news from Mussa Pasha, that in eight days they might expect to see the English red-jackets topping the heights. Alas! for our rational expectations; the English soldiers, willing enough to share the dangers and fatigues of the actual contest, were passing their time in vexatious and constrained idleness. The events of the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May, we will relate in the language of the officer to whom we have already alluded:—

“28th.—Awoke about three, A.M., by a furious cannonade, which lasted all day. Another council of war on the subject of making a sortie on the enemy's batteries ended in smoke, Mussa Pasha not being able to make up his mind to risk the loss of men that might ensue. A watercourse, which supplied part of the town, and which at the commencement of the siege had been cut off by the Russians, was again allowed to run by them. About midnight, aroused by the report of musketry from Arab Tabia, and on reaching the rampart at the Stamboul-gate, found that a second and much more serious night-attack on that work was going on. The first assault was on the left face, the enemy actually penetrating into the redoubt before they were observed. A Russian officer who led it, and cut down a lieutenant of artillery, was immediately brained by a handspike. A severe and desperate struggle took place, terminating in the repulse of the enemy, who were driven into the ditch, having suffered severely from our grape and canister tearing through them. Re-forming, they again attempted it in the same place, led gallantly on with drums beating, but were again driven back with great slaughter. After about a quarter-of-

an-hour, a third attack was made, this time on both left and front faces at once, but meeting with the same determined resistance. After a bloody fight the Russians were finally beaten off, the Albanians pursuing them into their own batteries. The force in Arab Tabia at the time was only four battalions of Egyptians and 500 Albanians, under the command of Hussein Pasha. The lowest estimate of the numbers with which the enemy attacked is nine battalions; and it is not improbable, from the number of his dead found in and about the fort, that this is considerably under the mark. The affair lasted from midnight till after daybreak, and is one of the most brilliant occurrences in the whole course of the siege. Casualties, sixty-eight killed, and 121 wounded, many officers being among the former. The loss of the enemy may be reckoned at 2,000 killed and wounded; although those who removed the bodies declared there was upwards of this amount in killed alone, which, allowing for wounded in the smallest proportion, would bring their loss to upwards of 6,000. An attack on Yelanli was made simultaneously with the first on Arab Tabia, but the enemy did not even come up to the ditch, apprehensive, as we afterwards learned, of its being mined.

“29th.—Went down to the Stamboul-gate, where we saw the arms, accoutrements, &c., of the enemy's slain being received and registered. While there, a ruffian threw down before Mussa Pasha a pair of ears, which he said he had cut from the head of a Russian officer. He was quite surprised at the pasha, instead of rewarding him as he had expected, ordering the ears to be buried, and turning from him with disgust. Several heads were also brought down, but were not allowed inside the walls. It is to be hoped that this disgraceful mutilation of the dead will be abandoned by the Turks when they come to act in concert with the allies, it being, moreover, in direct violation of a special firman from the sultan. In justice to the Turkish soldiers, I must state this brutality was confined chiefly to the irregulars and townspeople, who seemed to take a savage delight in disfiguring the bodies of those with whom the latter had not even been engaged. In the afternoon, Butler and I went up to Arab Tabia, where the enemy's conical bullets were singing through the air in great profusion. Heaps of dead were lying in the ditch and about it. All the former were stripped, and many

were headless. The Russian riflemen had apparently done their best to prevent the mutilation of those outside, as most, if not all, still wore their clothes, although their arms and accoutrements had been brought in. While at Arab Tabia, we saw a body of infantry, with cavalry thrown out, which had, as they came in sight in the distance, on the brow of the hill near Medjidie, all the appearance of the advanced guard of a large force. Cries resounded on all sides that the Schumla relieving army had arrived. Off we galloped, taken in like the rest, to welcome them. It turned out, however, to be merely a clever dodge of Hussein Pasha's to deceive the enemy, and make them suppose that a reinforcement had arrived. It being necessary to relieve the men at Arab Tabia, who had been there from the commencement of the siege, Hussein Pasha adopted the above roundabout method of doing so, causing at the same time two squadrons of cavalry to accompany his march.

"30th.—A flag of truce was sent out this morning, accompanying a party who took the enemy's dead up to his batteries. Notwithstanding the white flag, they were fired on at first by the enemy until a Russian officer interposed. On receiving the bodies, the officer spoke in most indignant terms of the state in which they were handed over to him; but was told by the officer in charge of our party, that it was the result of Bashi-Bazouk handiwork, and that everything had been done by the Turkish authorities to prevent it. An attempt to surprise and carry off a gun which was doing a great deal of mischief, was to have been undertaken this evening by a party of volunteers, of which Butler was to have the command; but when the time arrived, Mussa Pasha could not make up his mind to risk the loss of men. About eleven, P.M., the Russians threatened another attack on Arab Tabia; but having received such a severe lesson on the night of the 28th (or rather morning of the 29th), they were not very keen about hazarding another such loss to-night. After an hour's rattling fire from the infantry and a shower of shells kept up on the town and ramparts, they retired. Our casualties were seven killed."

On the 2nd of June, Mussa Pasha, the Turkish commander, was killed by a piece of a shell which burst near him while outside his quarters at the Stamboul-gate. He expired in about twelve minutes after re-

ceiving the wound. It is said, that when the fatal missile struck him, he was on his knees in prayer. Not long before, he had received intelligence that a messenger was at hand bearing the sultan's order of Medjidie of the second class. The officer desired to know whether his excellency would receive the decoration publicly and with the usual ceremony, or otherwise. The pasha replied, that it would be better to bring it in quietly, as it was no time for pomp and display. Poor man! he had but small space to enjoy his honours; for two hours afterwards he was laid in his grave. His death was regarded as a great loss, because he was not only a general of much zeal, intelligence, and activity, but also a kind, good-hearted man, beloved by his dependents. It is related, that when the Prussian captain of artillery arrived at Constantinople, with six non-commissioned officers, to teach the Turks the science of gunnery, Mussa was a simple cannonier; but he rose to distinction, and closed his life as chief of the general staff of artillery, and president of the ordnance department in the council of war. Hussein Pasha, who had hitherto been in charge of the important outwork called Arab Tabia, succeeded to the command.

A French paper, the *Patrie*, relates the following instance of the extent to which the Russian generals carry their military fanaticism. At one of the assaults on Silistria, the Russian commander ordered the Greek chaplain to give the sacrament to all the soldiers. This order was executed in the morning at break of day. Two non-commissioned officers, born in Poland, having declared to the priest that, being catholics, they could not, without committing a sacrilege, receive the communion from his hands, were immediately tried by a council of war, and shot.

On the 10th of June, the Russians sprang a mine on the left face of Arab Tabia, and then entered the works in a mass of columns. They were, however, received with a furious and steady fire, that repulsed them after great loss. That of the Turks amounted to forty-three killed and seventy-two wounded. On the 13th, the Turks, led on by Hussein Bey, made a furious sally, and inflicted a terrible loss on their besiegers; the slaughter was tremendous, and the trenches were completely filled with the bodies of the slain. On the same day Selim Pasha and Said Pasha both led an attack on the Russians. At eight in the morning Selim Pasha made



a demonstration against Oltenitza, and occupied the attention of the enemy until the evening. Said Pasha crossed the river with 3,000 men and a couple of batteries, and made such an unexpected and furious attack on the Russians at Giurgevo, that they were for a time driven from their position. This day, also, Captain Butler, whose activity and heroism during the siege had been beyond all praise, while making a *reconnaissance* of the enemy's position, received a mortal wound in the forehead from a half-spent ball. His companions did not at first regard the injury as a serious one, as the ball had traversed part of the wall before striking him. A feverish anxiety for the cause to which he had devoted himself, and an incessant activity that had worn him out, contributed to render the wound a fatal one. Captain Butler languished for eight days, and then expired deeply regretted. Though but in his twenty-seventh year, it is admitted that the defence of Silistria, during the last half of the period over which the struggle extended, was due to his incessant exertions. His death occurred just two hours before the retreat of the Russians was discovered.\* He was buried with military honours, and an officer from each battalion attended his funeral. A company of infantry were also present, and fired three volleys over his grave. The Turkish officers not only lamented his fate, but acknowledged that his services had been invaluable. It was said that Omar Pasha intended to erect a monument over the remains of the young hero, that posterity might remember the deeds of the brave Englishman who fell at Silistria in the cause of Turkey.

During the night of the 22nd, the bom-

bardment was kept up with great vigour until about half-past three, when it entirely ceased; and on the morning of the 23rd, it was discovered that the Russians had abandoned the siege! Yes, the Russian army before Silistria, which at one time amounted to 60,000 men, and had sixty guns in position, which had thrown down 50,000 shot and shell, besides an incalculable quantity of small-arm ammunition, into the town, was driven back from the first Turkish fortress it assailed by the indomitable courage and endurance of the Turks alone! That was a proud day in the military records of the Ottoman; and one which, we cannot help thinking, reflected something of disgrace upon the inert English and French.

Great was the joy of the Turks as they beheld the baffled Russians transporting their guns and ammunition across the bridge nearest them. The former were too glad to get rid of their assailants to fall upon them during their retreat. The Bashi-Bazouks and Xebeque irregulars ran out of Silistria in all directions, screaming and shouting through the abandoned lines, and setting fire to the gabions, of which there was an enormous quantity. Every now and then, in the excess of their joy, they fired their muskets in the air, forgetful that the descending bullets might do serious injury. It is recorded as a curious fact, that during the whole siege hares were to be found in the adjoining vineyards. One was killed not 300 yards from the bastion, where the briskest firing was kept up. The storks, also, never left their nests, though built on houses which were riddled with shot and splinters.

On the conclusion of the siege, it is cal-

\* The following letter was subsequently addressed by the commander-in-chief of the British army to the father of this brave and unfortunate gentleman:—

“Horse-Guards, July 17th, 1854.

“Sir,—I have heard with the deepest regret of the loss which you and the army have sustained by the death of your distinguished son, Captain J. A. Butler, of wounds and fatigue at the siege of Silistria. During the whole of that memorable siege your son displayed very rare qualities, combining with the skill and intelligence of an accomplished officer the intrepidity of the most daring soldier—at one moment gaining the confidence of the garrison (over which he had only the authority of a very young volunteer), by the example of his personal valour; at another, prolonging the defence of the place by the prudence and firmness of his counsel; and on all occasions infusing into those around him that spirit of heroic resistance which led to its triumphant defence. I deeply deplore your affliction in losing such a son; but your sorrow is felt by the country,

the army, and the sovereign. The queen had recognised his merits by placing him in the guards, and conferring upon him army rank, trusting that he might pursue a career of which all were so proud, at that time not being aware of the dangerous state of his health. The blow is unexpected and most severe; but I trust you will bear up against it by the fact that your son's services have been most valuable to his country, in promoting the success of a just war; and I hope I shall not give you pain by alluding to another son—Captain H. T. Butler, of the 55th regiment—selected for employment on the quarter-master-general's staff when the army first embarked for Turkey, solely on account of the ability he had shown in his studies at the Royal Military College. I trust that the well-earned fame of one son and the rising merit of the other will, under Providence, be a source of consolation to you at this moment of extreme affliction. Pray accept, my dear general, the condolence of your faithful servant,

HARDINGE.

“Lieutenant-general the Hon. H. E. Butler.”

culated that the Russians had lost 50,000 men since their entry into the principalities. Prince Paskiewitch was wounded, and compelled to resign the supreme command of the army to General Gortschakoff, the man whom he had displaced. General Schillers, the chief engineer, was also seriously wounded. The injury he received rendered the amputation of his left leg necessary. He did not long survive the operation. It is said that he had strangely superstitious ideas, resembling the spirit-rapping believed in by some people in this country. He fancied that he could hold conversations with spirits, and that he possessed a charmed life. His confidence in the latter wild notion induced a carelessness which led to the wound that eventually destroyed him. General Lüders, also, was wounded in a frightful manner, having his jaw carried away by a cannon-ball, a circumstance which led to his death.

If such were the casualties among their generals, severe indeed must have been the loss of the Russians in common soldiers. But even that was not all; the confidence of those troops in themselves was shaken: they could no longer feel that they were employed in a successful cause. The czar was humbled, and the pride of Russia shaken and cast down. "If," said a leading journal, while commenting upon this event, "if we compare the magnitude of the invading army with the slender and imperfect forces opposed to it, the boasted power of Russia with the weakness of Turkey, and the arrogance of the imperial court with the humiliation it has now to endure, we cannot but call to mind the impious appeals of the czar to the just judgment of heaven, which has already dissipated his armies, and confounded his ambition."

Before the siege was raised, the Emperor Nicholas, probably astonished or alarmed that his imperious commands to take Silistria were so long in being obeyed, sent Prince Dolgorouki, minister of war, to the Danubian principalities, to draw up an accurate report of the position of affairs, in a military point of view. Silistria was especially recommended to his notice. But before Dolgorouki reached the banks of the Danube, the Russians had recrossed the river, and were in full retreat, not only from Silistria, but towards the river Pruth. In consequence of the failure of the Russians to take Silistria, all fear of any formidable advance further into the Turkish territory

was at an end. That was evident; for the Russians were baffled and disgraced before the first important Turkish fortress they attempted to reduce. Private letters from St. Petersburg, at this period, mention that a great change had taken place in the Emperor Nicholas, both morally and physically. They described him as completely broken down in health and spirits.

The following reflections on the siege of Silistria, from the pen of a German military officer, will be found to possess no inconsiderable interest:—

"The cause and the issue of this operation have been so peculiar, so completely without precedent or example in the history of modern war, that it is worth while to throw all possible light on every particular of the transaction.

"If we consider the duration of the siege and the force applied to it by Russia, it becomes evident to even an unprofessional judgment that the result has been utterly unworthy of the means. The besieging army amounted to 30,000 men at least, and probably to 45,000, and in this computation we do not include the troops kept in reserve and ready for action on the Wallachian side of the river, and who, with three bridges at their command, could at any moment have passed over to support the operation. The Turks could oppose to these, of regular troops, after allowance for previous losses, some 12,000 men—i.e., not a third of the enemy's numbers. It is reckoned that the siege lasted thirty-nine days. Within this time, according to a computation by the Prussian officer in command of the artillery of the place—a computation carefully framed so as to be within the truth rather than beyond it—the Russians lost 12,000 men, while the loss of the Turks was about 1,400. During the siege, according to the same authority, from 40,000 to 50,000 projectiles, solid or hollow, were discharged upon the place, the siege-park having been, both in respect of number and weight of guns, far more considerable than that in any of the former Turkish wars. In confirmation of this may be mentioned that, during the forty-four days' siege of Silistria, in 1829, only 29,000, during the seventy-seven days' siege of Varna, in 1828, only 50,000 shots were fired. To the question, what has been the result of this undertaking to the Russian arms? the only answer that can be given is one as mortifying as may be to that power.

"We took occasion, soon after the commencement of the operations against the place, to bring under notice the fact, that it had, only within the last few years, been strengthened by some outworks, thrown up on the plan of a General Kutzkoffsky, on the southward slopes of the Bulgarian plateau. One of these detached works is the Arab Tabia. Its exact posi-



tion may be made intelligible to those who possess Moltke's plan, by our stating that it is situated on the ridge, or, to speak more accurately, the slope where he has marked the Russian fieldwork No. 4, and from 200 to 300 paces south of that work. The Arab Tabia is, technically speaking, nothing more than a 'flèche,' consisting of a front some fifty paces in length, with flanks of about the same extent, thrown back at a sharp angle. The rear is entirely open, and was never even palisaded. In and immediately behind the defences there were never more than 1,000 men at one time, a number very considerable in proportion to the extent of the work. The profile of the rampart and ditch may be considered strong (we have not obtained the measurements.) No part, however, has been faced with masonry, and the embrasures alone were fitted with gabions. The work was armed with no more than six guns, most of which had a calibre of from twenty to twenty-two okas, the oka equalling two and-a-half pounds. These were fired through embrasures. In other respects the work was simply adapted for infantry defence.

"A circumstance, however, which materially increased the capabilities of the work for resistance was, that a kind of trench had been cut to the eastward and westward, which followed the declivity of the slope till it reached the nearest part of the adjacent valley. No accurate information is before us as to the extent of these trenches, which commenced from the flanks of the Arab Tabia; but, to judge from the numbers of the irregular troops actively employed within them, their length must have been considerable. The ground to their front was swept by the artillery fire of the flanks of the main work. It is here to be noticed, that the Turkish irregulars, to avoid the murderous fire of the Russian batteries, had excavated behind and on either flank of these trenches numerous holes, in which they burrowed so effectually that the enemy could seldom see more of the defenders than their turbans and the muzzles of their muskets. In spite of some unfavourable features, such as a gentle rise in one quarter to the south, the ground may be considered, from its barrenness of surface, as, on the whole, favourable to the fire of the defence. The work was in communication with two other detached earthworks, situated on the two heights eastward and westward, which will be found designated on Moltke's plan as the Russian works 9 and 11. They are on the highest summits of the ground which slopes to the north, and very near the spots also marked on the plan as the Russian fieldworks 21 and 22. The Russian attack during their thirty-nine days' operations, if we except their bombardment of the town, was solely directed against the Arab Tabia. Anything else that was undertaken, such as a movement against the detached work, the Medschidie, was a

mere demonstration for the purpose of distracting attention from the real point of assault. The Russian General Schilders was quite right in this selection of the Arab Tabia, because from it the other outworks, above-mentioned, to the north, were commanded, and the reduction of the former would have insured their fall. This value of the position had been so well understood by Omar Pasha, that he had himself, after completion of the other outworks, directed the construction of the Arab Tabia. An attack was nevertheless first to be expected on the eastern side of the town. In fact, if all the accidents of ground of the Bulgarian plateau were to be duly provided for, and an enemy to be deprived of every position commanding the defences, it would be necessary to construct a series of outworks in terraces above each other, advanced till the dominant points of the ground in front had all been embraced. Time and means were wanting for these, and the Turkish engineers were obliged to confine themselves to what was essential. The first operations of the Russians were the construction of batteries, which gradually grew to be eight in number, were armed with the heaviest artillery, and beginning from near the shore of the Danube embraced the object of the attack in a concave curve. At the same time, following the fashion of their former proceedings of 1828 and 1829, before Varna and Schumla, they threw up a number of earthworks, mutually supporting each other with their fire which increased in number as the siege proceeded, and now, as then, had for their main object the better to repel the dreaded sallies of the besieged. The main body of the Russian besieging army was posted during the operation on one of the heights to the south-east of the Arab Tabia. The roads from the camp to the works and batteries, as well as those to the bridges of the Danube, were excellent as lines of communication; and all the works and constructions of the besieging force are described as solid and admirable. The first stage of the operations bore the character of a series of sudden assaults, delivered by considerable masses, and introduced as well as broken off by a lively fire of artillery. On two occasions the Russians penetrated the works, in which, however, the fight was continued. Once the Russians were already engaged in dragging off the guns of the fort with hooks and ropes; but in both instances the Turks rallied, and, reinforced, drove them out again with heavy loss. Of all the numerous assaults, that of the 29th of May was the one conducted with the greatest masses. Sixteen battalions, formed in columns of attack, advancing with perfect order, successively assailed the work, along the ditches of which a most sanguinary conflict was maintained. According to the report of eye-witnesses, 2,000 corpses on that day strewed the ditches and the ground adjacent. Such a slaughter, in an assault of a

place which comes within the category of a mere fieldwork, can scarcely be conceived by those who regulate their notions by ordinary professional rules. It may be explained in part by the circumstance that the assailants advanced in columns well closed up and marching in rather slow time, and after failure retreated in the same time and order. But the explanation of such unheard-of loss is far more to be found in the fact that the Turkish soldier, regular as well as irregular, where he can follow his own individuality and dispense with the guidance of his officers, generally of a poor description,—i.e., when behind wall or ditch—is immeasurably more in his element than in the open field, where the intelligence of the subaltern officer, the united action of component bodies, and the skilful use of ground and circumstances—other relations being equal—must usually decide the victory. To this must be added that the Turkish irregulars, and especially the Arnauts, who in this instance acted with the Turkish and Egyptian battalions, are admirably armed and accoutred for hand-to-hand fighting. In the first place they are lightly clothed and carry no baggage. Their side-arms and all that they carry about them are supported by a sash or broad leather waistbelt. A long flint musket, of good workmanship and extensive range, with a thin iron butt curved to fit the shoulder, and without bayonet, is slung over the shoulders in close action. Their other weapons are a pair of flint-lock pistols of large bore, the 'handschar' slightly curved, some two and-a-half feet in length, with the inner edge sharpened like a razor; and the yatagan; all of excellent workmanship, and, in the hands of these desperadoes, deadly instruments. The other irregulars, as well as the Arnauts, are generally armed more or less in like fashion, but their firearms are usually inferior to those of the Arnaut. The quality of the Arnaut's weapons is fully matched by his skill in using them in close fighting. He is an excellent shot, and, like the Circassians and other tribes who have to provide their own ammunition and fit it to the various calibre of their arms, he is very sparing in his use of it. He reserves his fire till the critical moment, but then his aim is deadly. He is not less dangerous with the cold steel, both edge and point, springing like a tiger on the enemy who advances over ditch or breastwork. It is on these occasions when the heavily-loaded soldier, trained and accoutred mainly for infantry fire, is clambering over obstacles and meets with a resistance which hardly allows him to use his bayonet, that his inferiority to such an enemy becomes apparent.

"The Russians, therefore, according to the reports of eye-witnesses, suffered less from the artillery fire of Arab Tabia than from the small arms of the Turkish, Egyptian, and Arnaut troops. Each gun was seldom discharged more

than from four to six times on the columns of assault advancing or retiring, and some were repeatedly dismounted by the fire of the batteries preliminary to the assaults. The storming parties, till they got into the immediate range of the musketry, could scarcely discern, with the exception of the gunners at their pieces, a fez or turban above the rampart; but, as soon as they began to mount, the crest of the mound and the ground behind were thronged with men, who rose from their holes and hiding-places like a sudden growth from the soil. A succession of failures, accompanied by tremendous slaughter, induced the Russians, towards the close of their undertaking, to proceed against this irregular work with regular siege approaches. Their parallels, at the time of their retreat, had been driven to within sixteen paces from the edge of the ditch. Mining was also employed, to meet which the besieged threw up fresh works in rear of the parts threatened with incredible rapidity. Everything failed; the garrison held out to the last with a cheerful contempt of death, such as competent witnesses (among them English officers) assert they never saw equalled. We have already mentioned that the commandant of the artillery, Lieutenant Grach, computes the loss of the Russians at 12,000, and the huge mounds of sepulture on the glacis bear out his estimate. According to all probability, from 300 to 400 officers must have fallen."

We mentioned (page 130) that the Emperor of Austria had sent a message to his imperial brother of Russia, requesting him to withdraw his troops from the Danubian provinces. On the 24th of June, immediately after the Russians had been compelled to raise the siege of Silistria, the reply of Nicholas reached Vienna. Let the reader note this reply well, and reflect how humbled the czar must have been before he could have prevailed upon himself to give it. It was, that as a mark of high consideration for Austria, Russia consents to evacuate the Turkish territories! This pretence was too transparent to deceive any one. Austria knew very well, and all Europe knew, that the czar was baffled—that he had given orders to retreat from Silistria, to abandon Little Wallachia, and to retire towards the Pruth, because his troops could no longer maintain their position; and because he feared the co-operation of Austria with England and France, and wished by his late and ill-affected complaisance to prevent it.

It was even announced that 25,000 Austrian troops would enter Wallachia on the 3rd; but in consequence of the representations of Prussia, Austria deferred the



actual execution of her treaty with the Porte. In regarding this evasive conduct of Austria, which served so greatly the cause of the Russians, and postponed still further the settlement of the war, it is difficult to forget the denunciations of the former power by the Hungarian patriot, Kossuth. The conduct of the King of Prussia in this European contest had been evasive and tricky throughout. It has been satirically observed, that the following motto was long ago assigned to the course pursued by Prussia in all things:—"Orders, counter-orders, and disorders!"

Diplomacy is a slow thing; and the statesmen of Austria are slow diplomatists. With the answer of the Emperor Nicholas to the summons of the Emperor Francis Joseph, it might be supposed that the matter was settled as far as negotiation was concerned, and that unless the conditions of Austria were thoroughly complied with, an appeal would be made to arms. But Nicholas had to send his answer officially; and another Prince Gortschakoff (not a general, but a statesman) arrived with it at Vienna on the 5th of July. It was very polite, but not quite so yielding as his first declaration. "The emperor," said this second missive,

"will willingly resign the exclusive protectorate over the Greek Christians, if Turkey will accede to a common protectorate of the five powers. He will evacuate the principalities when the western powers evacuate Turkey; but will hold a strong military position in Moldavia as a provisional security." This answer Austria considered as evasive, and communicated it to the governments of France and England, who perfectly agreed with her in that conclusion, and, knowing that further diplomacy was useless, rejected it unconditionally.

Reports from St. Petersburg stated that the Emperor Nicholas attributed the reverses he had sustained to Austria, rather than to the Turks, and that he was preparing to pour the phials of his wrath upon the great German state. With the first news of the repulse at Silistria, it is said he was much cast down, but that on rallying, he returned to business with redoubled energy. In the war department all was incessant activity, and couriers hurried to and fro both day and night. Reviews were held daily; large bodies of soldiers were continually in movement; and the concentration of troops on the Austrian frontiers proceeded without interruption.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE ALLIED FLEETS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CRONSTADT; FIRST ATTACK ON THE FORTRESS OF BOMAR-SUND; THE ALAND ISLES; EMBARKATION OF A FRENCH ARMY AT CALAIS ON BOARD ENGLISH VESSELS; OMAR PASHA IN THE ENGLISH CAMP; SANGUINARY SKIRMISHES AT GIURGEVO; REFLECTIONS ON THE APATHY OF THE ALLIED POWERS; BOMBARDMENT OF THE RUSSIAN WORKS OF SULINA, AND DEATH OF CAPTAIN PARKER; RETREAT OF THE RUSSIANS FROM THE DANUBE; ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND AUSTRIA SEND TO ST. PETERSBURG THE CONDITIONS ON WHICH ALONE PEACE CAN BE RESTORED; MISSION AND LETTER OF DR. COTTMAN; REPORT THAT THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS WAS NEARLY CAPTURED.

DURING the month of June the allied fleets in the Baltic had sailed up the Gulf of Finland into the neighbourhood of Cronstadt—that is, within thirty miles of it; and people in England were anxiously waiting to receive news of an attack upon those grand fortifications. Could they be taken by a fleet of any power? or would the cannon of England and France pour out their might and fury in vain against those tremendous bulwarks of granite and iron? Such were the questions that were constantly asked; but they were not to meet

with a rapid solution. Week after week passed, and still anxious speculators and eager politicians received no further information concerning Cronstadt, than that that awful modern scourge and mysterious destroyer, the cholera, raged within its walls. Under these circumstances, the allied fleets thought it prudent not to risk an attack, for fear that the blue, grim pest, which struck invisibly and in silence, and against whom the power of man was but as the feebleness of infants, might enter the vessels.

The fleets advanced nearer to Cronstadt, for the purpose of reconnoitring it, but they afterwards deemed it prudent to retire. While near the fortifications, the following highly interesting letter, dated June 30th, was sent to a friend by an English officer. It has that freshness and vivacity about it which is induced by being an actual spectator and actor in the scene described:—

"We are now in sight of Cronstadt, about eight miles distant, having cast anchor here the day before yesterday. Upon our arrival the signal was made to 'prepare for action;' so each man put on a light fighting-dress, and loaded his revolver. We all expected an immediate attack upon the fleet, which is anchored under the protection of the batteries; but I suppose Sir Charles thought it 'no go' just at present. A little excitement was also caused by the signal 'to look out for machines,' and grapnels were accordingly trailed about. The forts, even at this distance, look almost too much for us, and I do not think it likely we shall attack them. We have an enemy in the camp in the shape of cholera, and we buried two of the gunners yesterday, and one marine this morning, and a number of men are ill in the ship. The *Duke* also has it, and I believe we are going to try a change of air, as the advanced squadron of small steamers has just been recalled. They are about five miles nearer Cronstadt than we are, keeping just out of range of the forts. A fast, rakish-looking Russian steamer, supposed to be the grand duke's yacht, comes out now and then and leads them a chase. I went on board the *Hecla* yesterday to see a messmate, who dined with me. She is quite covered with marks of rifle-bullets, and has several round shot in her, though only 12-pounders. One came through into the master's cabin, and, taking a slanting direction, passed through six bulkheads, and lodged in the mid's berth at the other side of the ship. His 'sou-wester' hat received two large splinters in it as it was hanging up. Had the gentleman been in bed it would have just taken his head off. We got a couple of sheep yesterday, which were to us as manna to the children of Israel. We had to-day for dinner roast mutton, hashed mutton, and mutton pudding. Brandy and water is a very agreeable beverage, and certainly green vegetables and fruit have nothing to do with the cholera. It is thought the water is partly the cause of it, as the men like the water alongside

better than the distilled water, and many of them have been drinking it, as it is quite fresh. The French are sensible fellows; they stayed at Kiel while we were cruising about; they smoke, right and left, on board their ships; have splendid bands, and get up supper parties, with flags, &c., in the gayest manner possible. As to fighting, I should be quite willing to back them against the Russians, and have no doubt they will do good service when the hour of trial comes."

Great is the difference between words and actions—vast the gulf between promise and performance. The allied fleets, in the fulness of their power—and few (if any) such fleets have ever breasted the surging sea before—held back from Cronstadt partly from a conviction, or a fear, that it was impregnable; as well as in dread of the cholera. But before the war broke out, we could vaunt that Cronstadt could be crumbled into sand by the naval might of England. The following anecdote, taken from the French press, well illustrates this remark. Some years since, the Emperor Nicholas, acting himself as cicerone, conducted an English admiral over the fortifications of Cronstadt, when the following conversation took place:—"You will admit, admiral, that this is a magnificent fortress, and as impregnable as Gibraltar." "Oh, sire, no fort but Gibraltar is impregnable," replied the admiral. "What, then," inquired Nicholas, "is your opinion of Cronstadt?" "It is a good fortress, and one difficult to take," was the reply. "Yes, doubtless difficult," pursued the czar; "it could not be done with fifteen ships." Observing an expression of assent on the face of the admiral, the czar continued—"Could it be done with twenty?" "Not easily." "With twenty-five?" "It would take a fortnight." "With thirty-five?" "Oh, your majesty, in fifteen hours!" Though Cronstadt was not to be taken quite as easily as English vanity believed, yet the Russian fleet remained very quietly within its fortifications, and great alarm prevailed at St. Petersburg in consequence of the proximity of danger.

During the month of June, one circumstance occurred in the Baltic which, though in itself trifling, was made important by after-events. This was the first bombardment of Bomarsund on the principal of the Aland Isles. The fortress of Bomarsund is now one of the things of the past, as it was destroyed by the allied fleets, assisted by a French army, during the month of August.



The following description of it is in the language of a recent eye-witness:—"The chief battery is erected on the shore, in the shape of a curve, in order to sweep the whole bay. It is built of granite, in two tiers, with fifty-four embrasures in each, thus being enabled to mount 108 guns; but at present they have only ninety-two mounted. It has a bomb-proof roofing, and, to add to their security, a layer of four feet of sand rests upon this. On the rising ground immediately behind this are two round towers, and another in the extreme east, in each of which we counted sixteen guns. A mud battery, rapidly thrown up, still further to the east, completes their defence. Russian soldiers were lounging about on the shore, and officers were going to and fro on horseback, without the slightest appearance of concern at the proximity of our English and French men-of-war, eight of whom were moored within two miles and-a-half of them. Many were the speculations regarding the vulnerability of these fortifications; but it was at once determined that the operation of shelling them would be futile, the opinion being that a land attack by troops with the broadsides of the men-of-war at 1,000 yards, would soon complete their destruction."

On the 21st of June, Bomarsund was attacked by the British steamers *Hecla*, *Odin*, and *Valorous*, which anchored about the distance of one mile and a third, and threw bombs of 108 pounds each, balls of 96 pounds, and 68 pounds, and Congreve-rockets. They continued their fire upon it from five o'clock in the afternoon until past midnight. Two batteries near the fortress were soon silenced, and a number of bombs were thrown into the latter. All the magazines in Bomarsund, filled with grain and other stores, were destroyed; very few bombs reached the ships, as, according to a Russian account, the commandant, Colonel Bodisco, deemed it unnecessary to lose ammunition in responding to an enemy at so great a distance, and therefore suspended his fire for some time. When the English ships sailed away, the fortress was on fire in several places; but the flames were extinguished, and no serious damage done to the grim mass of stone. The Russians state their loss to have been inconsiderable, and the English vessels had only four men wounded. An instance of remarkable intrepidity and presence of mind occurred during the firing. A bomb, which fell on board the *Hecla*, was caught up by a

midshipman, named Lucas, and thrown into the sea before it exploded. The English ships, probably feeling themselves not equal to the reduction of the fortress, retired at about one in the morning.

On the 25th and 26th of June, Bomarsund was bombarded afresh, and considerable damage was done to the fortress there. It was rumoured that the reason for a repetition of the attack was, that the allied fleets intended to winter in and about the Aland Isles. As these islands will have again to be referred to, we may as well say a word concerning them here. They consist of eighty inhabited islands, and a great number of rocks and islets situated in the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia. The population of them all does not much exceed 15,000. The people are of Swedish descent; but they refuse to call themselves either Swedes or Fins, and lay claim to the title of Alanders. The islands, taken from Sweden in 1809, are of great political and military importance to Russia. They contain several fortified ports, and are generally the station of a part of the Russian Baltic fleet.

In the fourteenth century the Aland Isles are mentioned as an earldom; and, at different times, they have been in the possession of Swedish princes and queens, either as fief or as jointure. Up to the year 1722, the islands were used by the Russian fleet as a place of rendezvous. Many Alanders who had fled to Sweden, returned after the peace of 1727. In 1742 and 1808, the Russians again took possession of the islands; but the Alanders secretly organised themselves in the latter year, surprised the Russians, and took the Russian commander, Major Neidhart, prisoner. In 1809, however, the islands were again taken by the Russians, and since then have remained in their possession. The ruins of the once powerful castle of Castleholm still stand on a lonely red granite rock near the sea. Until the year 1634, this castle was the residence of the Swedish governor of the islands. The water passage between them, with their deeply-indented bays, is more like an excursion on a lake than on the open sea. Both before and behind, the expanse of water is constantly broken by islands presenting pleasing views of fresh green meadows, little villages surrounded by kitchen gardens, or by bare desert cliffs of red granite abounding in felspar, among which there stretch hazel shrubs, or thin stunted woods of pine.

We regret that we have to record the pro-

gress and position of fleets and armies, rather than their encounters with the common enemy. It is difficult to invest such particulars with any very striking interest; but the duty of an historian must be performed. Turning from the north, let us take a passing glance at affairs in the East. Early in June the light division of the British army, commanded by Sir George Brown, and consisting of the 7th, 19th, 23rd, 33rd, 77th, and 88th regiments, with part of the 8th hussars, the 17th lancers, and a portion of artillery, consisting of four guns, attached, commenced its march from Varna to its new encampment near the village of Devno, about eighteen miles from Varna. By this change of position the health of the men was much benefited, as the filth and offal of slain animals which accumulate outside a camp and frequently becomes offensive, even to contagion, was thus cut off. The cavalry were stationed near Devno, but the infantry at another village, a lovely spot, called Aladyn. Notwithstanding the usual good conduct of English troops, inaction seemed to have made at least some of them vicious. On several occasions stragglers from the camp broke into the houses and ill-used the inhabitants. A poor Bulgarian came to an English commissariat officer in tears, and contrived to inform him that some soldiers had turned their horses into his only field of barley, a great quantity of which they had also cut and carried off, in spite of his remonstrances. Every effort was made to suppress these wanton outrages; but the poor Bulgarians shortly afterwards removed their goods and abandoned their houses. When the news of the raising the siege of Silistria, and of the retreat of the Russians, arrived, it created a combined feeling of joy and disappointment; joy, for the success of the Turks, and disappointment, that perhaps the English might lose the chance, after coming so far, of having at least one brush with the enemy. About 40,000 men were encamped at and near Varna. Grass, herbage, and shrubs, for some miles round the town, had disappeared, and the fields seemed turned to a wide expanse of sand.

Though so little was done by the allies, preparations were still extensively continued both in France and England. From these preparations arose an incident of a singularly pleasing character,—and one which, though born of war, will do much to promote the interests of peace, and to cement the union of two great and noble countries. This was

the review of a French army at Boulogne by the Emperor Napoleon, and the embarkation of that army at Calais on board British vessels to convey them to the Baltic. We take the following account of the review from the *Moniteur*:—"This morning (July 12th) at ten o'clock, the emperor went on horseback, in the uniform of a general of division, to the camp of Boulogne, to review the expeditionary corps and the other troops already assembled in that vast locality. His majesty was accompanied by General Rolin and Colonel Fleury, his aides-de-camp, and several staff officers. A platoon of horse chasseurs, which arrived from Abbeville the preceding night, formed the escort. At eleven o'clock the emperor reached the elevated ground of Wimereux, where the expeditionary division was stationed, under the orders of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, commander-in-chief. On perceiving his majesty, the entire army saluted him with a vociferous cry of 'Long live the Emperor!'

"This division comprises two brigades. The first, under the orders of General d'Hugues, is composed of the 12th battalion of foot chasseurs, the 2nd light, and the 3rd of the line. The second brigade, under the orders of General Grévy, comprises the 48th and 51st regiments of the line. The artillery which is to form part of the expedition had been previously sent to the port of embarkation. These troops were ranged in two lines, forming a square, with the sea in the rear, at the summit of the plain. The regiments were complete; and each soldier was equipped in readiness for campaign. Their appearance was admirable. It was a pleasure to see the air of satisfaction depicted upon those warlike faces. Almost the whole population of the town and neighbouring localities had come to the camp. A great many English families were present. They gave proof, by the heartiness of their acclamations, that they were not less pleased with the splendid spectacle than the French. The emperor passed, at a walking pace, before the troops, addressing kind words to each of the chiefs of corps. The regiments then formed an immense square, where his majesty, surrounded by the generals and officers of the staff, called to him the officers, sub-officers, and soldiers who had been selected to receive decorations and the military medal.

"Immediately after the distribution of these rewards, the general commanding in chief invited all the officers of the expedi-



tionary corps to come and range themselves round his majesty. Then, in the midst of solemn silence, the emperor, addressing the troops in a voice which could be heard at the extremity of the most distant ranks, made a speech, the noble words of which produced deep sensation. Never did the national cry of '*Vive l'Empereur*' resound with more enthusiasm and devotion. The emperor then advanced to a rising ground in front of his staff, and the troops defiled before him in the midst of hearty acclamations. From the camp of Wimereux, the emperor went with his *cortège* to the camp of Houvaut, where the division of General Regnault is established. The emperor passed in front of the troops, who then defiled before his majesty, who was at the summit of the rising ground upon which the barracks already constructed are situated. The same acclamations, the same enthusiasm which greeted the emperor at the camp of Wimereux, were also manifested at that of Houvaut. His majesty was much moved by them. The emperor also expressed his satisfaction at the excellent state of the camp, the discipline which prevails there, and the exertions for the comfort of the soldiers. The gaiety which they display at their labours is a subject of admiration with the numerous foreigners who visit the camp."

The French emperor also addressed the following proclamation to the troops—a proclamation well calculated to excite the enthusiasm of his vivacious people:—

"Soldiers!—Russia having forced us to a war, France has armed 500,000 of her children. England has called out a considerable number of troops. To-day our troops and armies, united for the same cause, dominate in the Baltic as well as in the Black Sea. I have selected you to be the first to carry our eagles to those regions of the north. English vessels will convey you there—a unique fact in history, which proves the intimate alliance of the two great nations (*peuples*), and the firm resolution of the two governments not to abstain from any sacrifice to defend the right of the weak, the liberty of Europe, and the national honour.

"Go, my children! Attentive Europe, openly or secretly, offers up vows for your triumph: our country, proud of a struggle which only threatens the aggressor, accompanies you with its ardent vows; and I, whom imperious duties retain still distant from the scene of events, shall have my eyes upon you. I shall be able to say,—

They are worthy sons of the conquerors of Austerlitz, of Eylau, of Friedland, and of Moskowa."

"Go, may God protect you!"

Copies of this proclamation to the Baltic army were placarded on the walls of Paris, and read with universal interest. The expression, "I have chosen you to be the *first* to carry our eagles to those northern regions," was understood to mean that the French standard would, if necessary, be carried to Russia by a second, a third, and even a fourth army. The emperor left Boulogne at half-past one o'clock on the 13th of July, and arrived at Calais at four. The English squadron, composed of a great number of fine first-class ships, frigates, and steamers, lay at anchor in Calais Roads ready to take on board the expeditionary army. The English officers and a multitude of sailors mingled with the people of Calais, and received the emperor with expressions of hearty enthusiasm. During his brief stay at Calais he visited the English men-of-war, and then returned to Paris without staying to witness the rather tedious ceremony of the embarkation of the troops. Great good feeling prevailed between the French soldiers and the English sailors, and the fraternisation between the two is described as being complete.

The retreat of the Russians from before Silistria was not long continued, and Wallachia was not abandoned by them. The Russian commander received orders from St. Petersburg to reoccupy those positions in Wallachia that had been abandoned; an order which was generally obeyed. Under these circumstances the allied armies began to move, and early in July a division of the English troops, under Lord Cardigan, advanced towards the Danube, and joined Omar Pasha at Rustchuk. These troops, however, merely effected a *reconnaissance* along the banks of the river towards Rustchuk and Silistria. After some time they returned to the camp near Devno. Previously to this, on the 3rd of July, Omar Pasha travelled from Silistria to Varna, to consult over future operations with the French and English generals. He stopped on his way at the English camp at Devno. His equipage consisted of two britzkas and four, escorted by a squadron of cavalry; and the postboys were artillery-drivers armed to the teeth. On seeing him approach, the whole of the English staff hastened to pay their respects to him. Omar mounted his horse and rode up the hill towards the camp, in front of which the whole division was drawn up to pay him honour. We have mentioned a few facts of the life of this

extraordinary man; but a sketch of his appearance, from the pen of an observer, will doubtless not prove tedious. "Omar Pasha was dressed with neatness and simplicity; no order glittering on his breast; and his close-fitting blue frock-coat displayed no ornaments beyond a plain gold shoulder-strap and gilt buttons. He wore the fez cap, which showed to advantage the clear well-marked lines of his calm and resolute face, embrowned by exposure to wind and weather for many a year of a soldier's life, and the hue of which was well contrasted with his snow-white whiskers. In the rude, and rather sensual mouth, with compressed thick lips, was traceable, if physiognomy have truth, enormous firmness and resolution. The chin, full and square, evinced the same qualities, which might also be discerned in the general form of the head. Those who remember the statue of Radetzky, at the Great Exhibition, will understand what I mean. All the rougher features, the coarse nose, and the slight prominence of the cheek-bones, are more than redeemed by the quick, penetrating, and expressive eye, full of quiet courage and genius, and by the calm though rather stubborn brow, marked by lines of thought, rising above the thick shaggy eyebrow. In person he appeared to be rather below than above the middle height; but his horse, a well-trained grey, was not so tall as the English chargers beside him, and he may really be more than five feet seven or eight. His figure is light, spare, and active; and his seat on horseback, though too Turkish for our notions of equestrian propriety, was firm and easy. He wore white gloves and neat boots, and altogether would have passed muster very well in the ring at Hyde-park as a well-appointed quiet gentleman. His staff were by no means so well turned out; but the few hussars of the escort were stout soldierlike-looking fellows. One of them led a strong chestnut Arab, which was the pasha's battle charger."

The English troops presented arms to Omar, and performed some field-day manœuvres much to his satisfaction. But what completely rivetted his attention was some charges of our cavalry, after witnessing which, he declared that such infantry and cavalry could dash over any troops in the world. As he rode from the field the soldiers cheered him enthusiastically, to his great delight.

To return to the contest on the banks of

the Danube. After the relief of Silistria and the retreat of the Russians, Omar Pasha removed his head-quarters from Schumla to Rustchuk, on the banks of the river. On the 3rd of July, while Omar was on his visit to the French and English generals, the Turks made a successful attack on the island of Radoman, which lay in the Danube between Rustchuk, and Giurgevo, and formed one of the outworks of the latter place. The action was renewed on the 5th and 7th of the month, when the Turkish forces crossed the river both above and below Giurgevo, and completely surrounded a Russian detachment under General Soimonoff. The Russians fought their way through with great difficulty and considerable loss. The Turks, however, did not escape scathless; their loss in killed and wounded amounting, according to their own return, to 1,700. On this occasion, three English officers, Captain Arnold, Lieutenant Meynell, and Lieutenant Burke, who accompanied the Turkish expedition, perished beneath the Russian fire while encouraging and cheering on the Ottoman soldiers. The Turks remained in possession of Giurgevo; and though the loss was severe on both sides, this action on the 7th was regarded as a brilliant affair.

The fate of Lieutenant Burke was remarkable, and deserves special mention. On leaping on shore from the boat, six Russian soldiers charged him. He shot two with his revolver, and cut down a third with his sword, upon which the others turned and fled. While encouraging the Turks, who were yet on the river, to row quietly to land, and forming them in line as they made the bank, a deliberate aim was taken at him by a number of riflemen who advanced from behind a ditch. Charging them with headlong gallantry, he was struck by a ball which broke his jaw. Still he rushed on, shot three men dead at close quarters with his revolver, and cleft two men through head and helmet with his sword. Though surrounded, he still fought with heroic courage, and endeavoured to cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, when a sabre-cut from behind, given by a dragoon as he went by, nearly severed his head from his body, and he fell dead, covered with bayonet-wounds, sabre-gashes, and gashed with lance-thrusts and bullet-holes. His body was found, after the action, with as many as thirty-three wounds upon it, and the ring-finger of each hand cut off.



After this engagement, Prince Gortschakoff advanced with a large force, said to amount to 70,000 men, with artillery in proportion, to Frateschti, a place within six miles of Giurgevo, and offered battle to Omar Pasha, who no longer confined himself to a defensive policy, but became, in his turn, the assailant. The Turks did not accept the challenge to a great battle; but on the 8th of July a sanguinary engagement, which terminated in favour of the Turks, took place at Oltenitza. On the 9th also, Sali Pasha, the commander of Nicopolis, crossed the river with a considerable force, and attacked the Russians under General Popoff. After a desperate conflict, the latter retreated, their commander being severely wounded. The retreat of the Russians was so hurried that some of the men tasted nothing for four-and-twenty hours, and others were unable to obtain food for six-and-thirty hours. This is explained by the fact, that the victorious Turks on their rear took no prisoners, but slaughtered all who fell into their hands. On the 10th another serious conflict took place: the Turkish commander, with 25,000 men, defeated Generals Pauloff and Soimonoff, at the head of a superior force, and drove the Russians back upon Bucharest. Another action took place on the 11th, when the Turks attacked and routed the Russian rearguard at Frateschti, on the road from Giurgevo to Bucharest. The Turks had crossed the Danube at several points, and remained in considerable force upon the left bank. Particulars of these events are wanting; but one fact in connection with them was known well enough: that is, that the allied forces did not render the slightest assistance, but left the Turks entirely to their own resources.

Had the allies of Turkey done their duty; had Austria poured her thousands into Wallachia, and directed them against the Russian forces; and had the French and English marched to the Danube, and there imitated the example of a famous English captain of past times, John, Duke of Marlborough, the invading armies of Russia might either have been driven back to their own land with disgrace, or, if a sterner policy had prevailed, swept into swift and dark annihilation. To strike a rapid, unsparing, and awful blow upon a powerful enemy is mercy in the end; for it saves an incalculable amount of suffering and blood. Such has ever been the policy of all soldiers whom

the world has recognised as men of genius in the art of war. Their object has been to spare the necessity of striking twice, and they have usually accomplished their aims by making their first blow so sure, so deadly, and so appalling, that their enemies were awed into submission. Such a blow might have been struck at Russia in the first wild clash of hostilities; and, had it been struck, it would have palsied the uplifted arm of that semi-barbaric power, and have sent a shock to the heart of her people all throughout her gigantic territories, that should have taught a bitter moral lesson not to be forgotten;—a lesson that, in its bloody severity, would have chained down the rising despotism of the north for the next half-century, taught brute force and blind inertness that it could not control intellect and progression, and the remembrance of which would have fallen like a chill upon the heart of future czars when the thoughts of unjust ambition arose yet dim and unshaped in their minds. Had this been done, Turkey might have been placed in security; the Christians in the East emancipated from the thralldom of the Crescent; Nicholas have gone in bitter disappointment to his grave, overwhelmed by the rushing flood of retributive justice; Europe have remained in peace, and the labour of millions (no longer drained by the exhausting influences of a tedious war) have devoted their efforts to the maintenance of tranquillity, to the production of those natural blessings requisite for their existence, to the cultivation of national alliances and goodwill, and to the adornment of their several lands with works of beauty and grandeur, that should stand as monuments to posterity of the glories and triumphs of peace!

And why was not this one fierce yet merciful blow struck? Why have France and England, in the fulness of their might and civilisation, shrunk back and remained in opprobrious slothfulness, while the semi-barbarians of the East have vindicated their own honour and independence; and, by their noble daring and endurance, cast a mantle of shame over those who patronisingly promised them assistance? Why is it left to the unborn historians of the future to record the heroism of the Turks and the dilatory hesitation of France and England? Why is this? We fear it is because a too timid and subservient policy sways our councils; because we have no great statesmen in the cabinet or great soldiers in the

field; because mediocrity sits in the seats of genius; and the soldiers of routine are left to follow their own interests by protracting a war which the interests of humanity and the honour of the allied powers demand should be speedily ended. The mere professional soldier, who fights by the stopwatch, and who would rather not win a battle unless the victory was obtained in strict accordance with military art and etiquette, urges, in excuse for the inaction of the allies, that the marshes of the Danube are unhealthy; that to lead the armies there would be to expose the lives of the men to sickness; and that, therefore, such a step would not have been prudent. We cannot pass a certain judgment on this point, but to us the objection sounds like the ready excuse of timidity or indolence. Not as regards the soldiers of France and England: they are brave enough; that has been proved again and again, and they are known to have manifested a great desire to hurry to the scene of action, and mingle in the honourable struggle. The charge of timidity or indolence does not attach to them, but to the mysterious restraining power that withheld them; to the obsequious policy which, even after the sword was drawn, would fain persuade the czar to forego the rich territory he had marked out for his prey, and act with peaceful moderation for the future; to those who trust, against all reason, to the hollow forms of a rotten diplomacy which has failed again and again, instead of depending on the might of two great and willing nations to set the wrong right, and with one swift, sudden, deadly blow, smite down the arrogant injustice of barbarism. What, we would ask, was gained by not exposing the allied troops to the sickness said to prevail in Bulgaria and Wallachia? Did not the diseases engendered by idleness, by bad food, and exposure to a foreign climate, fall like a pestilence upon the allied forces? It will soon be our duty to relate the work of the deadly and unsparing cholera upon those brave men who pined in vain for action, and who perhaps in the excitement roused by it, might perhaps have escaped a visitation which, in its inscrutable attacks and subtle withering influence, robs even those who escape with life of their spirit and hardihood, and (to use the usual technical though not very explanatory term) demoralises an army. We know that apologists for the course pursued by the allied govern-

ments have been found in scores; but we know that many writers of the public press have appealed to the public for forbearance when they have themselves deemed censure to have been deserved. England, said the venerable warrior who has but so lately been withdrawn from the ranks of the living, cannot embark in a little war. We would add, that England must not conduct war in a *little manner*; but when she has made great preparations for a noble cause, millions of English voices will demand that her resources be not wasted in inaction, and her soldiers left to die of disease instead of being led to victory!

We mentioned the blockade of the mouths of the Danube by the allied fleets; and we have now to record a melancholy accident in connexion with that event. During the month of July (on the 8th), the Russian works at the Sulina mouth of the Danube were bombarded by the English steam-frigates, partially destroyed, and taken possession of. The English then set to work and repaired the Russian batteries, that they might be used against the enemy if necessary. The allies also occupied themselves in removing certain vessels which the Russians had sunk in the mouth of the Danube, and the navigation of the river was thrown open. After this necessary proceeding, the Russian steam flotilla, which had hitherto occupied the river in defiance of the allies, wandered up and down almost in despair of safety.

After the capture of Sulina, many of our thoughtless seamen supposed that the Russians had altogether abandoned the neighbourhood, and thence arose a degree of confidence or negligence that led to a fatal result. On the 7th of July, Captain Parker, of the *Firebrand*, planned a little excursion up the river, for the purpose of destroying some works that were occupied by the Russians. Accordingly he entered his gig, and pulled up the stream, followed by a second boat from his own vessel, and by a third, containing Captain Powell, of the *Vesuvius*.

The town or village of Sulina is almost surrounded by a jungle of reeds, where stockades had been formed for the defence of the place by the enemy. These reeds are so high, that they conceal both men and horses from the view of any one ascending the stream by a boat, and consequently furnish shelter from which a stubborn enemy could harass troops whom he did not feel



inclined to meet in open combat. Instead of abandoning the neighbourhood, the Russian soldiers had occupied the jungle which lines the banks of the river, and there awaited their revenge. As Captain Parker's boat came abreast of a stockade, supposed to have been long deserted, a shower of bullets saluted it from an unseen foe. A ball passed through the surgeon's coat; others whistled near the heads of the crew, some of whom were wounded; and the boat was riddled. Captain Parker laughed at the Russians for being such bad marksmen, and put back to obtain the assistance of the other boats. A momentary consultation was held; then the sailors rowed rapidly towards the stockade, and Captain Parker leapt lightly on shore to lead the attack. Almost instantaneously did he meet the fate he had so recklessly provoked. Scarcely had he taken a few steps, when a bullet went through his heart, and he fell a corpse. Captain Powell then assumed the command, and despite a brave resistance, the Russians were driven from their stronghold in a few minutes. Two Russian officers stood calmly at the embrasures of the stockade, and were shot by the English sailors while directing their men where to fire. Besides the loss of Captain Parker, five men were wounded; three of them very severely. Captain Powell stated: "There was no means of computing the enemy's loss, although they were seen to fall inside the entrenchments. I am disposed to think that they were assisted in carrying off their wounded, and even defending the place, by some Greeks; as men in the dress of that country were seen intermixed with the Russian troops."

Captain Parker was much regretted by the officers and crew of the *Firebrand*, because he was not only a brave, but an exceedingly amiable man. The following incident forms a good instance of the humanity of his character. About four months previous to his death his vessel touched at Kostendje, from which place some Cossacks had just retreated, leaving behind them many tokens of their barbarity. One hut contained a pitiable spectacle. In it lay the bodies of a man and woman; and upon the latter lay a living infant but a few months' old, its tiny hand extended on its mother's breast, and its little wrist lacerated by the bullet which had deprived her of life. Close by was a little terror-stricken boy, of about three years old, whose left arm was in a

frightful state from the result of no less than five bullet-wounds. Struck with pity at the wretched condition of these poor Bulgarian children, Captain Parker had them sent on board the *Firebrand*, and properly attended to; at the same time expressing his intention of taking them under his own protection. The poor little things became great favourites with the sailors, who nursed them with more tenderness than could be deemed compatible with their habits and mode of life. On the eldest they bestowed the name of Johnny Firebrand; he was a fine intelligent little fellow, and soon began to pick up English. The poor children were carried by the sailors to the funeral of their benefactor. It is probable that these little things, thus nursed in danger, and reared upon the sea, may grow up to be brave dashing sailors.

Captain Parker had but just completed his twenty-ninth year: he was the son of Admiral Hyde Parker, and belonged to a family distinguished in the naval annals of his country. It has been well observed, that the actual amount of fighting (as far as the helpers of Turkey had been concerned) was, up to this period, so insignificant, that the death of a single officer created a sensation which those accustomed to the heavy "butcher's bills" of former wars could scarcely understand. The body of Captain Parker was taken to Constantinople in the *Firebrand*, and buried on the 12th of July, in the grand Champ de Morts at Pera. The funeral ceremony was performed with full military honours, much to the astonishment of the Turks, who use no rites at the burial of their dead, except in the case of the sultan and his family.

To return to the Turks at Rustchuk and Giurgevo. A party of thirty English sailors, under Lieutenant Glyn and Prince Leinigen, R.N., and the same number of sappers under Captain Page, R.E., arrived at the former place, for the purpose of assisting in the construction of a bridge over the Danube at that point. The sailors arrived from Varna on horseback, much to their own amusement and to that of those whom they met. The sappers were sent over to Giurgevo, to assist in the fortifications there. These men were the first Englishmen that crossed the Danube in the cause of the Ottoman. A laughable event took place on the 15th of the month, the relation of which will lighten up the grim monotony of repeated skirmishes. Colonel Iskander Beg, a brave cavalry officer

in the Turkish service, was reconnoitring at some distance from Slobosia, attended only by four or five men, when he beheld at some distance an infantry sentry of the enemy's, and resolved to attempt capturing him. As they approached, more soldiers were seen behind the sentry, and some of the party began to fear that they might catch a Tartar; but the colonel was not to be deterred, and he pushed on. With a sudden puff of wind the sentries commenced a series of eccentric rotatory movements of a kind the colonel had never seen soldiers execute before. Rushing forward, with sword in hand, he discovered about twenty Russian great-coats and caps, cleverly stuffed with straw, and placed on sticks, so as to revolve with the wind. As may be supposed, no quarter was shown; the sentries were demolished without mercy, one only being carried back as prisoner to the camp, where it excited the laughter even of the grave Turks.

On the 19th of July, another engagement took place between the Turks and Russians, on the banks of the Danube, at Giurgevo, or rather between that place and Frateshti, and ended in the total defeat of the Russians. Again, upon the 23rd, the Russians made an attack upon the Turkish camp, near Giurgevo, with the design of driving the Ottoman army to the Bulgarian shore of the Danube, or at the least of arresting their further progress into Wallachia. The attack failed; the Russians are said to have lost 2,000 men in killed and wounded, and to have had 5,000 taken prisoners. The result of these actions was seen in a second retreat of the Russians from Wallachia. On the 27th they abandoned Frateshti, and the advancing Turks took possession of it. Oltenitza and Bucharest were also evacuated; and the Russians retired, by forced marches, towards Moldavia. The czar, however, showed no signs of submission; and it was conjectured that this abandonment of Wallachia was effected merely for strategic reasons, and to withdraw the Russian troops from the neighbourhood of Austria. This retreat must have been a sad and painful movement;

for, while it was carried on, the heat was so excessive, that the thermometer stood at 104 in the shade. Great numbers of the men must have been left exhausted or dead upon the road. On leaving Bucharest,\* on the 1st of August, Prince Gortschakoff assembled the Boyards, (*i. e.* nobles,) and thanked them for the manner in which they had treated the Russian troops during their stay in Bucharest. This was very much like a highwayman, pistol in hand, thanking his victim for the liberal manner in which he had surrendered his purse. The scarce-hidden joy of the poor Wallachians at the departure of their oppressors, was dashed with gloom by the general adding, that strategic reasons alone induced him to quit the city; but that it was not improbable he might return at an early period.† But the Turkish advanced guard entered Bucharest, and the fears of the poor Wallachians were much relieved. The Boyards, having fairly got rid of the Russians, addressed an invitation to Omar Pasha, and voted a loyal address to the sultan. As Omar advanced he issued a proclamation, stating that it was not his intention to make the Wallachian territory the theatre of war; and that the Russians should be compelled to indemnify the people of that province, for the losses the latter had sustained during the unlawful occupation. The Russians, while at Bucharest, said that their retreat had been commanded, in consequence of a melancholy confidential report sent home by General Gortschakoff, relative to the action of the 7th at Giurgevo. After reading the report, the czar is said to have exclaimed: "I can comprehend that my army was repulsed from Silistria, though I had expected another account from the Prince of Warsaw; but what I cannot understand is, that a wild horde of half-naked Turks, after an engagement on the water, and having taken our fortified islands by storm, should have dislodged my troops, with such a heavy loss, from a position which they had been a whole year fortifying."

The humiliation of Russia was further evident from the fact that Prince Gortscha-

\* Bucharest is the capital of Wallachia; and the Boyards, who reside there, frequently compare it with Paris in point of civilisation and luxury. It has, however, no just claim to any such pretensions. It is described as resembling a large village, the houses being surrounded with gardens. The city is ill-paved, ill-built and dirty. It is the entrepôt for the commerce between Austria and Turkey. It contains ninety-five churches and twenty-six monasteries, seven hospitals, a college, a museum, and two theatres,

The population is about 100,000, and consists chiefly of Germans, Greeks, and Armenians. The sympathy of the lower classes is said to be on the side of the Turks; most of the nobles lean the same way, but some of them would readily welcome Russian rule.

† M. Ubicini, a well-known political writer, shortly afterwards published a detailed account of the losses the two principalities suffered in consequence of their lawless occupation by the Russian troops. He estimates it at 200,000,000 francs.



koff, the statesman, made a declaration at Vienna, that the troops of the czar would immediately evacuate Moldavia as well as Wallachia.\* Yes, Nicholas actually consented to relinquish his "material guarantee," and that, also, without conditions. The eastern question had entered into a new phase, but the prospects of peace were as distant as ever. This retrograde step was yet another attempt to disarm Austria, and lead her farther from an alliance with the western powers. Notwithstanding these announcements of the Russian envoy, Count Buol exchanged notes on the 8th of August with the representatives of France and England, to the effect that Austria, in common with those countries, continue to look steadily for the guarantees to be exacted from Russia, to prevent a recurrence of the difficulties which had troubled the peace of Europe; and Austria further pledged herself, until the complete re-establishment of peace, not to treat separately with the cabinet of St. Petersburg until she had obtained such guarantees.

The substance of the notes exchanged on this occasion between Austria and the allies was, that the three powers were equally of opinion that the relations of the Sublime Porte with the imperial court of Russia could not be re-established on solid and durable bases—"1. If the protectorate hitherto exercised by the imperial court of Russia over the principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia, be not discontinued for the future; and if the privileges accorded by the sultan to these provinces, dependencies of their empire, be not placed under the collective guarantee of the powers, in virtue of an arrangement to be concluded with the Sublime Porte, and the stipulations of which should, at the same time, regulate all questions of detail. 2. If the navigation of the Danube, at its mouths, be not freed from all obstacle, and submitted to the application of the principles established by the acts of the congress of Vienna. 3. If the treaty of the 13th of July, 1841, be not revised in concert by the high contracting parties in the interest of the balance of power in Europe. 4. If Russia do not give up the claim to exercise an official pro-

\* A French officer of rank, in writing from Rustchuk, says:—"Apropos of the Russians. What do they mean to do? What means this war of theirs, without connection and without plan;—these useless, I should rather say shameful, promenades from Kalafat to Silistria, and from Silistria to Rustchuk, only to escape in every place, and at every time

tectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to whatever rite they may belong; and if France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, do not lend their mutual assistance to obtain, as an initiative, from the Ottoman government the confirmation and the observance of the religious privileges of the different Christian communities, and to turn to account, in the common interest of their co-religionists, the generous intentions manifested by his majesty the sultan, at the same time avoiding any aggression on his dignity and the independence of his crown."

The French and English governments declared that they would not take any proposition from the court of St. Petersburg into consideration, unless it implied a full and entire adhesion to the above conditions. Count Buol, also, on behalf of the Austrian government, stated that "it accepts for itself the engagement not to treat except on these bases, always reserving a free deliberation on the conditions which it may bring forward for the re-establishment of peace, if it should happen itself to be forced to take part in the war."

More, we should presume, as a matter of courtesy, than with the hope of their leading to a restoration of peace, copies of these conditions were sent to St. Petersburg, for the acceptance or rejection of the Emperor Nicholas. There was, however, very little probability that they would be accepted by him, even after his recent reverses; for to submit to them would be to proclaim his own humiliation, and to abandon far more than he had claimed. It was necessary for Russia to experience some calamitous defeat or startling disgrace before the czar could bend his stubborn neck so low. Though Austria joined with France and England in laying down the conditions that the czar must accept before the pressure of the iron hand of war would be removed from his dominions, the other great German state, Prussia, stood aloof and would not give its sanction to a measure calculated to bring the Russian autocrat to reason.

The long-expected movement of the Austrian troops into the principalities speedily followed. Three brigades of Archduke Al-losing, without the slightest possible advantage, the half of their soldiers? The Russians have arrived at such a point, that they are throughout Europe almost despised as a power and an army. Even the Turks hold them in the most supreme contempt; and I, as an old soldier, cannot say that they are mistaken."

bert's corps in Transylvania entered Wallachia on the 20th of August; and it was stated that three other brigades of General Coronini's army were preparing for a similar movement into Moldavia. Many said that, by so doing, Austria had acted up to her engagements at last, and that she was fully prepared to act with the allies against the czar. But there were others who did not take quite so favourable a view of the matter. These said that Austria was acting treacherously; that there was a secret understanding between her and the court of St. Petersburg; and that she had merely sent her troops into Wallachia to shield the Russians from the advance of the victorious Turks!

Before the above-named conditions were sent to St. Petersburg, the Russians had even informed the Austrian government that they should recross the Pruth in five places, and march at once into the interior, instead of remaining on the frontiers. The hidden meaning of this polite intimation was, that they should concentrate their troops, and direct them against the allies in the Crimea, whenever the anticipated attack on that place should be made. On the 2nd of August the Russians commenced their retrograde passage of the Pruth, by recrossing at Liptsehai, Skulani, Leuschein, Leova, and Volena. The removal of their sick and wounded from Bucharest is described to have been a pitiable spectacle. In the excitement of hurry, scarcely any attention was paid to the complaints and cries of the sufferers. One officer died while the men were lifting him into the waggon, and one of the head physicians, in the height of delirium from typhus fever, was huddled into a waggon with the other patients. The humbled Prince Gortschakoff appealed to the humanity of the inhabitants to show compassion to the poor fellows he was obliged to leave behind him. He referred to the kindness which had been extended to the wounded and prisoners of the crew of the *Tiger* at Odessa; and added, that he also had always acted humanely towards the sick and wounded who had fallen into his hands.

We must now request the attention of our readers to an event of a very different character. We believe that the unhappy jealousies once existing between England and America to be almost extinct, and we think the time not far distant when they will be utterly so. We know that many organs of the American press have declared their

sympathy with England in the struggle in which she is engaged, and their remembrance of the fact that Englishmen and Americans spring from one noble stock, and are members of the same great family. This is as it should be; and we are certain that should disgrace ever sully the English flag, or any calamity fall on the English nation, a deep and general grief would be felt by our half-brethren on the shores of Columbia. Yet the following account of the mission which the Emperor Nicholas entrusted with the American, Dr. Cottman, to the government of his native country, looks as if an ungenerous and petty feeling against England yet lingered in the minds of some of our transatlantic friends. We must be careful, however, not to charge upon a great nation the folly or prejudices of individuals; and we should do well to reflect that Dr. Cottman, while sneering so bitterly at England, was dazzled by the magnificence he beheld in Russia, and that his judgment had been taken captive by the artful condescensions and flatteries of the czar.

But to the circumstance we have to relate:—"Dr. Thomas Cottman," we are informed by the *New York Herald*, "was born in Maryland, and is now (1854) about forty years of age. He moved to Louisiana in 1830, where he has occasionally practised medicine, and was elected to the legislature. He still owns a plantation there, and a large number of slaves. In 1853, he went to Europe for the purpose of placing his daughter in a boarding-school at Paris; and while there he determined to visit the different countries, and investigate for his own satisfaction the merits of the present difficulty between the belligerent powers. In the course of his travels he went to St. Petersburg, where he had an interview with the czar, who treated him in the most friendly manner, and offered him every facility in his power. The better to assist him in making his tour of observation through his dominions, the czar gave him an imperial order to all the institutions and places of note in the country. With this order he visited Cronstadt, where he remained six weeks with General Dehn, the commander-in-chief of the northern division of the army. He subsequently went to all the principal cities, and was everywhere treated with the greatest hospitality. Dr. Cottman acted in the capacity of surgeon to the Grand Duke Constantine up to the time of his appointment on his present mission, and



enjoys the confidence of the whole of the imperial family."

The Emperor Nicholas perfectly captivated Dr. Cottman by his condescension and his professions of a desire to cultivate the friendship of his countrymen, of whom he spoke in the highest terms of praise. "There are," said he, "but two governments in the world—those of Russia and America; and although I have the greatest regard for the latter, yet I know it would be impracticable in my country. The republican form of government is best suited," he added, "for the people of the United States, because they are enlightened and intelligent; but with Russia it is entirely different, and the government she has is the only one that is suited to her condition."

The czar also astonished the American by his knowledge of the institutions and people of the country of the latter. The doctor described his imperial friend as not only thoroughly informed on this particular, but as quite familiar with American local politics, and as knowing the leading politicians in the different states by name. In a word, he was thoroughly *posted up* in the history of the different parties.

Of the looks and habits of Nicholas, Dr. Cottman speaks as follows: "The emperor is one of the most refined and polished gentlemen in Europe, and his personal appearance is remarkably prepossessing. He is about six feet two inches in height, and made in proportion, while in manly beauty it would be difficult to find his equal. In his manner of living he is very temperate, and preserves the greatest regularity and order in all his transactions. He rises every morning before sunrise, a practice which is followed by the other members of his family. Before breakfast they take about an hour's exercise in

the open air, such as riding, walking, &c. After a very light meal (for he is a believer in homœopathy, as applied to dietetics) he reviews the troops, and then visits the different members of his family at their several places. He next visits the various departments, or gives audiences; and as this portion of the day's work is ended at six o'clock, he takes dinner, after which he indulges in another ride or drive. His sons regulate their time in the same manner as the emperor; but, at stated times, they have general reunions of all the members of the family."

Of course all this politeness on the part of the great representative of despotism towards a plain American citizen, was not without its object. In estimating the character of Nicholas, in an early chapter of this work, we mentioned that he was frequently very affable and condescending towards foreigners of ability or rank, because such conduct helped to gain him a good name in other countries. But, in flattering the republican doctor, the czar had another motive. He wished to dispose of the island of Sitka (a part of the Russian dominions in America) to the government of the United States. Sitka contains the settlement of New Archangel, a small town, with about a thousand inhabitants. It is the seat of the governor of all the establishments of Russian America, and possesses fortifications, magazines, &c., built of wood. In England it is generally considered that Sitka would be almost valueless to the Americans, and that the possession of it might tend to embroil them with the British government respecting some hunting or fishing right, or boundary question. In America, it seems, a different opinion is entertained, at least by a portion of the press and people.\*

The czar, no doubt, foreseeing that Sitka solved, it would be manifestly for the interest of Great Britain, as well as the United States, that this intervening tract should be transferred by sale from them to us. In this event, our territory would stretch in one undivided line from the icebound oceans of the north to the line 32°, such a coast as no nation in the world possesses, and one which the natural tendency of the events now occurring in Asia cannot but render extremely valuable. Even if Great Britain refused to part with Vancouver's Island and the vicinity, the military value of these possessions would be manifestly diminished, to a very considerable extent, by our occupation of the coast, both north and south, including the whaling depôt at Sitka, on the one side, and the mouth of the Columbia on the other. We make no question, therefore, of the course which our executive should pursue in the present conjuncture. Our surplus funds could not be better employed than in acquiring the

\* The following article from the *New York Herald* contains the views of that party in America who advocate the purchase of Sitka:—"The Russian territory extends along the shore from a point near longitude 64° in the Arctic Ocean to Observatory Inlet on the Pacific, being bounded on the south and east by the British possessions occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company. It comprises all the best whaling stations in the Northern Pacific, and if annexed to the United States would give our whalers an advantage which would at once enable them to defy competition. Again, in a political point of view, its acquisition would make us masters of the whole western coast of America, from the Arctic to the Mexican boundary, with the exception of that portion lying between 49° and 54° 40'—say some 350 miles. We should thus surround Great Britain; and if, as seems likely to occur in process of time, the Hudson's Bay Company were dis-

might possibly become a means of disturbing the friendly relations that exist, and which we trust ever will exist, between England and America, entrusted Dr. Cottman with a mission to the government of the United States, and invested him with full powers to treat on his behalf. The doctor was to propose to the American government that they should purchase Sitka, and probably the rest of the Russian possessions on that continent, which he would make over to it on very easy terms. "The emperor," said Dr. Cottman, "looks forward to the adoption of a commercial treaty between Russia and our country, and the purchase of Sitka, with no little anxiety, as he is very desirous of keeping up friendly terms with us during the present war. In speaking of our relations with Spain, he says that he considers that Cuba is ours by right of her geographical position; and that, as she commands the entrance to the gulf, we should take her, whether the Spanish government is willing or not." The czar had thrown dust in the eyes of Dr. Cottman by his overwhelming politeness, and he then attempted to blind America with a bribe. It was equivalent to saying, "do not you interfere while I take Constantinople, and you are welcome to Cuba with all my heart. Let us be wise, and sanction each other's aggressions."

Before returning to his native land Dr. Cottman visited London, and there he wrote a rather remarkable letter to Mr. George N. Sanders, the American consul in this country. This letter brought upon Dr. Cottman much censure and ridicule, and was condemned by the English press as containing a tissue of falsehoods and exaggerations. It certainly exhibits our petty exploits at Brahestad and Uleaborg in a new light, and does its best to

territory offered us. The case of Louisiana, which was acquired under precisely the same circumstances, is an example which should by all means be followed. Should the administration resolve on making the purchase, a difficulty is very likely to occur between Great Britain and this country. As soon as it was known in England that the purchase of Russian America had been suggested to this government, the president was notified that the British fleet in the Pacific had received orders to take Sitka. It may possibly be contended that this notification should have operated to prevent our purchase, or that such a purchase, made in the teeth of the notification, amounts to an act of hostility against Great Britain. We think it likely that this argument will be used on the other side of the Atlantic, because we have known such arguments to proceed from the same quarter before; but we regard it as entirely fallacious and incorrect. The expression of an intention on the part of Great Britain could not affect the actual sove-

tarnish the name of England, while it holds the Russians up to admiration; yet we cannot but think there may probably be more of truth in its assertions than the English press are inclined to admit. At any rate, it is as well sometimes to see our portrait as painted by one who professes himself to be in the interest of, and delighted with, our enemy. For this purpose we subjoin the letter, some of the sarcasms of which will, we think, find their way to the mark they were aimed at:—

"Sir,—I have just arrived here on my way from the seat of war in the north-east, and take it for granted that a true narrative would interest you, being perfectly aware that you appreciate at their proper value the details you have had through the London and Paris journals. France and England have equipped the finest fleet that ever floated, and sent it to the Baltic to instruct the Russians in geography. They have been hunting up places so far north that the sun never sets upon them for more than two months at a time. There are not more than 500 persons in St. Petersburg and Moscow together that ever heard of Brahestad, Uleaborg, &c., until they had been bombarded by the allied fleets. By the way, speaking of Uleaborg, the greatest vandalism of the present century was there committed. The account in the *Dublin Post*, from the journal of an officer on board the *Leopard*, is as near the truth as anything you have seen since the commencement of the war, as there has been a systematic perversion and *suppressio veri* in everything that has been delivered to the public since April last. It is true, as the *Leopard's* officer tells you, that they sacked, pillaged, and burnt the defenceless town of Uleaborg; but he does not tell you what was the fate of the women in that village, where he says: 'No resistance was offered, and we landed the marines.' I will tell you. They were all violated by the crews of twenty boats, pretending to be civilised men and Christians. He tells you:

reignty of the czar, or deprive him of the power of giving a valid title to the territory. Until that intention is executed, and Sitka actually taken, the czar has a clear right to sell, and we to buy, the tract menaced. If, therefore, we choose to buy, and the czar places us in possession of the territory, the British fleet will be bound to respect our purchase, under the obvious penalty of hostilities with us. This we take to be the true view of the law on the point. Should Sitka have fallen before our purchase is completed, the case would be different, as there could be no delivery from Russia to the United States, and consequently no sale. This consideration ought to stimulate our government to prompt measures. If the territory is to be bought, it must be bought at once. Delay will preclude the possibility of our acquiring it, and will in all probability, have the effect of aiding Great Britain in its promised conquest, and adding further strength to a rival whose power is already but too formidable on this continent."



We began the work of destruction on Thursday, and did not leave off until Friday morning at ten o'clock.' After appropriating to themselves the property of the citizens, and violating the persons of their wives and daughters, he continues: 'It was near costing us our lives, for we got hemmed-in in the river by the fire. Twice we attempted to burst through it, and twice failed. At the third time the first lieutenant cried out, 'Pull, pull, for dear life—one more attempt.' For about 100 yards I had to close my eyes and put my hands to my face. I was scorched and roasted; my hair was singed. We got out fainting and half-grilled; we had a narrow escape and lost one man. This morning part of his skull and spine were found burnt to a cinder; it was as dreadful a night's work as ever I was at, and terrible.' Let the civilised world judge of the result of this drunken orgie. A town, where there was neither soldier nor gun, sacked, pillaged, and devastated by fire, the work of the marines of twenty of her majesty's ships. Not content with the destruction of property, the virtue of the women was assailed with equal ferocity and baseness. This writer speaks truly when he says: 'We destroyed everything, virtue, goods, and chattels. The unfortunate inhabitants were like madmen; it was a sad sight to see the creatures; many a man arose yesterday in good circumstances, and that night was a ruined man.' Thus you see Merry Old England, with all her vainglory and boasting, reduced in action to a level with the pagan Turk whose cause she espouses, associating herself with her next-door neighbour, and on the slightest opportunity occurring casting reflections on him, which, unfortunately, is like spitting against the wind that hurls back the expectorated matter full into the face of the projector. The *Leopard's* officer gives out the idea to the world that the Finnish lasses did not mind brutal violence, if it were not done by Frenchmen. True, there is some reason for jealousy of the French—they have not committed a dishonourable act since they have been in the Baltic. The *prestige* of a Briton's name has fled from the Russian dominions. Fishing-boats, nets, tar-barrels, and deal boards have been burnt, simply because they trust to English professions of respecting private property. The much-vaunted capture of prizes reduced to the comprehension of ordinary individuals, consists in a few Finnish smacks laden with salt for curing fish on the coast of Finland, and these are the means employed for revolutionising Finland. Wherever there is a cannon the allies have slunk away like a sneaking dog from a sheepfold on the discovery of the shepherd. Witness the attack on places of so little consequence that no man in England ever heard of them until he saw the report of their being attacked by the allied fleets, which have been invariably repulsed, notwithstanding the gallantry of Ekness, Gamla-Karleby, and Bomarsund, which

tell a mournful story for Britons' pride. Old Bodisco, brother of the late Russian minister at Washington, commands Bomarsund with about a dozen cannon, and, for fear he might use them if they approached too near, the fleet contented themselves by firing all day into his apple orchard and among his trees, entirely out of reach of the old man's guns, but not of his wrath. More than one English flag has been brought to St. Petersburg as a trophy. I had expected to find in London a Russian flag at every corner of the street, captured by the fleet so much vaunted here before I left for Russia. I think there is an axiom, or a proverb, or something of that kind, which runs: 'A merciful man is merciful to his beast.' England is frenzied with commiseration for the slaves of the United States of America, and consequently devotes her whole time to ameliorate the condition of the collier, who rarely sees the light of the sun from the 1st of January to the 31st of December. In a moment of excess of this humane consideration, she declined doing anything more at Odessa than burning a few hovels on the mole, and the deal boards in the lumber-yard, which were very convenient for exercising the Congreve-rockets upon. They had no intention of injuring the city by the 2,000 asphyxiant bombs thrown into it. The officers well knew that the asphyxizing principle contained in the bomb would decompose the explosive principle in the capsule, and prevent the bursting of the shell, and, as they were useless, they concluded to rid the fleet of them by pitching them into Odessa. Old Admiral Napier came up last Sunday week, and took a look at Cronstadt, where I have been waiting a month to see a great combat, and have been disappointed, for the fleet all disappeared on Monday. I have found out there is to be no show. I paid my money at the gate, got admission, find the principal actor sick—'Can't come to the scratch,' and the play 'is given up.' The finest fleet that ever floated passes by Riga, Revel, Sweaborg, and Cronstadt, and contents itself with a look. The days of chivalry are gone, and I must be satisfied with cheerful, happy faces and hospitable hearths in lieu of great battles in Russia. British valour has eked out in gasconade, detraction and defamation of private character, and destruction of private property. The idea of terminating a war by discord in the imperial household, and jealousy between the elder brothers of the imperial family! There never existed a more united or harmonious family. The Grand Duke Alexander is, according to the journals of the day, dying of hectic fever and night sweats, when in reality he would pass freely for a beer-drinking, athletic Englishman, and, I might almost say, with an exuberance of health; and, instead of jealousy and distrust, the most cordial sympathy and devotion to each other prevail. Brothers more devoted to each other cannot be found anywhere in the

private walks of life. Michael, the chief of artillery, and Nicholas, of infantry, are both very intelligent, and the devotion to their father and the desire to execute his will equal anything that the most exalted imagination could picture. The emperor's health and spirits have been very good for the last two months, but they both appeared to advantage the two days that the allied fleet lay off Cronstadt. The fleet lay between the imperial pavilion on the premises of the Grand Duchess Helen, at Oranienbaum, and the fortifications at Cronstadt. Thousands of persons collected on the heights of Knansa Gorkoe, and about Oranienbaum, as they said, to see Old Charley cut capers when the ball opened, but the spectators were disappointed; this magnificently attired company declined to face the music, and left the saloon, consequently the ball closed before the dancing commenced, as it is rather awkward to dance without a *vis-à-vis*.

"Colonel G. N. Sanders."

In closing this chapter, we must allude to a curious and seemingly improbable circumstance, which is said to have occurred while the allied fleets were lying before Cronstadt. An English yacht, belonging to Lords Lichfield and Euston, ventured considerably in advance of the ships, when suddenly a small Russian steamer put out with the intention of making a prize of her. This she would probably have done, but that an English war-steamer advanced to the rescue of the yacht. The Russian vessel declining a combat, retired within the batteries, and the affair ended. Respecting these events there is no doubt; and they were even confirmed by a letter from Lord Lichfield to one of the public journals, correcting some of the details of its narration.

But now comes the wonderful part of the story. It is asserted that on board the Russian steamer which put forth to effect the capture of the yacht, were the Emperor Nicholas, the Archduke Constantine, the archduchess, and the Russian admiral in command at Cronstadt! All these distinguished persons had steamed in the warship to enjoy the pleasure of taking a little unarmed yacht; and, by so doing, had exposed themselves to the risk of being made prisoners by the English steamer which approached to protect it. If the Russian

vessel did contain such goodly company, it must be deeply regretted that the fact was not known to the captain of the English one. No doubt he would have risked his life to have made a prisoner of the disturber of the peace of Europe, or have done his best to send the vessel containing the autocrat to the bottom. Had he succeeded in either alternative, he would have won a name, remembered with honour until the time comes when Mr. Macaulay's traveller of the future shall stand on the remains of London-bridge and contemplate the ruins of the English capital. But the fact was unknown: the emperor, with his family and admiral (if indeed they were there) escaped; and the captain of the English vessel had to wait another opportunity for distinction.

"On the political consequences of such an event" (*i.e.*, the capture of the emperor), said a leading journal, "we must scarcely venture to speculate. The imagination of the historian who is called upon to write the history of the events *which did not occur*, may fairly recoil from the magnitude of the subject. Little petty questions, such as those connected with the Sulina mouths of the Danube, the navigation of the Black Sea, the freedom of the Circassian mountaineers, the restoration of Finland to Sweden, &c., sink into comparative insignificance by the side of the chapter which might have been written on the result of the czar's yachting expedition off Cronstadt. The wonder of it is, that all this time we are not dealing with a fable, nor with the result of a drunkard's inspiration, but with sober and serious fact. The czar of Russia, the Archduke Constantine, and the archduchess were as near to capture and transmission to England as it is possible to be without having actually incurred such a catastrophe. Such is life and history—such a strange mixture of chances and improbabilities! What an end to the Russian war; and to think, in all soberness of thought, that it might really have come to pass, had the captain of a little English steamer known who were on board the little Russian steamer the other day off Cronstadt."



## CHAPTER XII.

CRUISE OF THE RUSSIAN SHIP VLADIMIR; THE CHOLERA IN THE ALLIED FLEETS AND ARMIES; PROROGATION OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT; PREPARATIONS TO ATTACK BOMARSUND; FORT TZEZ TAKEN BY THE FRENCH, AND FORT NOTTICH BY THE ENGLISH, BOMBARDMENT OF THE GREAT TOWER, AND SURRENDER OF THE RUSSIAN GARRISON; THE RUSSIAN PRISONERS; BLOWING UP THE FORTS.

MANY were the conjectures hazarded as to when the allied fleets in the Black Sea would attack Sebastopol. Expectation was frequently excited upon this subject, and as frequently disappointed. At length a portion of the allied fleets, composed of fourteen ships-of-the-line and six frigates, departed from Baltchik on the 21st of July, and directed its course towards the Crimea. Generals Brown and Canrobert accompanied the expedition; and it was supposed their object was to effect a landing, or to reconnoitre and settle the plan of future attack.

The proceedings of the fleets in the Black Sea we shall speak of more fully when returning to the narrative of events of the war in Asia. Here it will be sufficient to say, that a strict blockade of the Euxine was supposed to be kept up by the allied fleets. Notwithstanding this circumstance, a Russian steam-frigate, called the *Vladimir*, put out from Sebastopol, evaded the blockade, and defeated the vigilance of the cruisers to such an extent, as to penetrate as far as the mouth of the Bosphorus! On steaming away from Sebastopol, the daring Russian ship proceeded to the Asiatic coast, and sunk several Turkish vessels laden with corn. The captain of the *Vladimir*, himself a Greek, had received information from spies of his own nation, which, united with the negligence of the blockade, might have inflicted a severe disgrace upon the British flag. He had learnt that the English steamer, *Cyclops*, had landed her guns, and was then lying defenceless in the roads at Heraclia. Thither he bent his course; and the British vessel would have fallen an easy prey to the adventurous Russian, but that she had been accidentally detained at Constantinople for the purpose of undergoing some repairs, after being ordered to Heraclia to inquire into the state of the coal-mines then working on that coast for the use of the combined fleets. Though disappointed of her intended prize, the *Vladimir* reaped the reward of her audacious bravery. She

took in tow two vessels laden with coal, and steamed away with them to Sebastopol. Four English war-steamers went in pursuit of her, but spent their efforts in vain. Such negligence on the part of the blockading fleets was extremely culpable, and calculated to lead to dangerous results. It was well remarked, that that was not the way in which matters were conducted when stout old Sir John Jervis had a similar duty in hand, and Troubridge was with the in-shore squadron off Toulon. In consequence of this dashing exploit of the Russian captain, seven sail-of-the-line sailed from Baltchik to enforce the blockade more thoroughly.

The expedition to Sebastopol turned out to be only for the purpose of a *reconnaissance*. Sir George Brown, in the *Fury*, approached quietly during the night to within 2,000 yards of the batteries. While he stood on deck counting the guns of the enemy, an explosion was heard, and a shot tore through the rigging of the vessel. Other shot and shell instantly followed, and the *Fury* steamed out of the harbour with a cannon-ball in her hull, but without injury to any of her crew. It is said that Sir George Brown was so satisfied with the result of his observations, that on his return he recommended immediate action.

Into the city of Constantinople, amid the troops there; into the vessels in the Bosphorus, and the camp at Varna, crept the dread pest—cholera. It broke out at Varna on the 24th of July, and in the course of one day and night, upwards of twenty men had fallen victims. So virulent was it, that one man, seized at seven o'clock, was a corpse at twelve. As if cholera was not sufficient to thin those gaudy masses of crowded life, typhus-fever was linked to the modern scourge of Europe. The light division (which was the first attacked) was ordered on to Monastir, a village about eight miles further on. Several of the men were struck upon the march; but the attacks were not so fatal as when the pestilence first broke out. At one period the deaths

amongst the English rose from sixteen to twenty a-day, while that among the French were even more numerous. The correspondent of a leading journal, while writing from the spot, thus inquires the causes of this terrible visitation :—

“The remoter causes of the epidemic which rages at Varna and in the camps may be beyond our ken, but assuredly there is no difficulty in discovering the immediate physical predisposing conditions of its existence, if medical authority is of any value. In the first place, the men were left too long in the same encampments. It is the practice of the French, as a general rule, to change their ground once every ten days, even in healthier climates. They seem to have paid the penalty, on this occasion, of their breach of a rule recommended by experience and founded on common sense. Our men, in spite of all orders to the contrary, persisted in throwing offal, heads and entrails of fowls, bones, and skins, into the bush and brushwood around the camp. In the broiling sun all these various animal matters speedily become putrescent, and myriads of flies hover around them, and buzz about into the tents, laden with cargoes of corruption. Although soldiers are constantly employed carrying away offal and clearing the ground occupied by horses and mules, nothing can prevent acts of carelessness and nastiness on the part of the men. Now at Aladyn the smell from the thickets in the rear of the camp, when the light division left it, was almost intolerable. The guards and highlanders are, however, marched up to within a comparatively short distance of this abandoned camp, and pitch their tents at a distance which subjects them, I should think, to the influence of its tainted atmosphere. And where do the light division go to? They march to Devno, which is said to bear a proverbial name for its unhealthiness; and they remain in a spot which (I understand) the principal medical officer of the army, Dr. Hall, authoritatively condemned, after his recent inspection of it. The condition of the atmosphere of the camps outside Varna must be worst of all, from the long-continued encampment of troops there, and from the large masses of troops, Turkish, Egyptian, Bashi-Bazouk, English, and French, congregated there. Sir De L. Evans’s division seems to have been placed in the most healthy and favourable spot, and I believe the returns from the various divisions

will be found to support the view taken of the comparative healthiness of the sites of the various camps. Another cause of the illness which prevails may be the long morning drills, and lengthened exposure to the rays of a broiling sun at a time when the men are little able to resist its effects, owing to insufficient meals. Oftentimes they have gone out to a four hours’ drill without anything more substantial to work upon than a cup of coffee. Sometimes they have not had even that. Why should the officers escape almost with impunity? The fact of the men sleeping fifteen in a single tent, while the officers have tents to themselves, or a tent between two, has no doubt something to do with this difference; but the better feeding of the officers has, I suspect, a far greater influence. The pork ration which is sometimes issued is decidedly unwholesome. Mr. Warren\* was seized with illness after a meal of pork, and several persons have complained that they are never well after it. Perhaps Mohammed was a better physiologist than we think, and found that swine flesh in these climates is essentially unwholesome. It certainly should be washed down with something stronger than lukewarm river-water. Our generals, who were so anxious to get their men into good working order, to make them hardy, to render them temperate, to wean them from the luxuries of the malt-tub, will feel somewhat astonished if they should find—which God forbid!—that this splendid army is withered by sickness and decimated by a plague which might have been prevented, humanly speaking, if the precautions which were pointed out and insisted on had been taken. Whatever else caused the cholera, neither porter nor spirits had anything to do with it! The wine sold in the canteens of the regiments was not so cheap as to be commonly drunk in quantities by the men, nor so bad as to be deleterious. It was examined again and again by the doctors, at the command of the authorities, when they found diarrhœa increasing, and the doctors shook their heads, and talked about increase of rations and better supplies of rice, &c., as being more germane to the matter. Apricots, which the people here eat in enormous quantities, long ere they ripen, were sold without let or hindrance to the men in the camps; nor

\* Mr. Warren was a storekeeper at Varna, and a very estimable man. He was on duty on the evening of the 24th of July, and at twelve the following day he was no more.



were juicy pumpkins and crisp cucumbers wanting. The Turks and Greeks eat them abundantly, and yet Varna is not a place where cholera is at all common—on the contrary, it is generally very healthy, and is not at all subject to the attacks of this terrible pestilence. In compliance with the request of our authorities, the Turks have ordered all offal to be buried with quicklime.”

At Constantinople the cholera committed frightful ravages amongst the troops, and 200 persons perished shortly after its outbreak. It was said that this alarming amount of sickness was, to a large extent, the result of the idle and stationary life the soldiers were compelled to lead, and that, too, while their presence was so much needed at the seat of war. Indian officers, accustomed to deal with armies in hot climates, had all along asserted that sickness would attack the men if they were kept unoccupied within the lines, and that the only way to preserve the soldiers in health was to give them constant employment and something of the excitement of war.

In England, the progress of the war, or at least the safety of our fleets and armies, was considered so far satisfactory, that although there had been some little talk of an autumn session, the queen prorogued parliament with the usual formalities on the 12th of August. We mention this circumstance to show that the government entertained no apprehensions for the result of the great struggle in which they were engaged. In addressing the members of both houses her majesty said truly:—“You will join with me in admiration of the courage and perseverance manifested by the troops of the sultan in their defence of Silistria, and in the various military operations on the Danube.” This praise was bravely and nobly earned; but it is not an inspiring reflection that the Queen of England could not bestow upon her own willing troops the tribute of admiration that was wrung from her by the Mussulmans.

We must now recall our reader's attention to the Baltic. The English vessels bearing the French troops from Calais, most of them, joined the allied fleet on the 30th of July, at the little bay of Led Sund. At this place all was noise, life, and cheerfulness. Bomarsund presented a very different appearance. The Russian commander, learning that the fortress was to be again attacked, ordered all the villages around it to be burned. This cruel man-

date was effected early in August; and for several days clouds of smoke and flames rolled up towards heaven, and attested how Russia protects her subjects. By Sunday (the 6th) the destruction was complete, and nothing remained of the town and woods around the fort, but a few blackened walls and heaps of charred and smouldering ashes. Deserters from the forts frequently joined the ships of the allies. One fine-looking fellow, having obtained leave to bathe, left his clothes upon the beach, and swam off two miles to join the *Leopard*. He said that he had served for fourteen years nearly without pay, and living upon very little else than brown bread and water, and that he at length resolved to endure such a state of things no longer. The poor fellow seems to have been kindly received. Englishmen do not injure or abuse the helpless. In evidence of this, we may observe that Sir Charles Napier gave strict orders that a cordial and friendly demeanour should be shown towards the inhabitants of the islands. The soldiers and sailors were informed that no injury was to be done to private property, and that the full value must be paid for everything they required. The inhabitants, however, were loath to receive anything for fear they should be punished if subsequently detected. It is actually related, that two boys, on whom some English coin was found, were summarily hanged! Surely the severities and atrocities of war have their limits; and this barbarism was certainly beyond them.

On the 5th of August, the *Tilsit*, *St. Louis*, *Asmodée*, *Cleopatra*, and *Syrene*, arrived with the siege-guns, horses, and the stores necessary for the latter. The next day the *Tilsit*, *St. Louis*, *Infexible*, and *Asmodée* proceeded to Bomarsund; and on the 7th they were followed by the transports and steamers, taking up the troops and English marines. Sir Charles Napier shifted his flag to the *Bulldog*, and, together with his staff, also steamed up to Bomarsund, from which doomed fortress the passive sentinels and officers beheld the preparations for its destruction. For some days the carpenters of all the ships were employed in constructing platforms to carry 32-pounders. These enormous guns weighed as much as forty-five hundred-weight each, and were to be conveyed to the scene of action on sledges, each dragged along by 150 men. They were to be used in addition to the ordinary field ordnance.



The landing of the expeditionary corps took place at three o'clock in the morning of the 8th of August. It was effected without resistance upon two points of the island of Lumpar, near Bomarsund. A battery of five guns, of large calibre, which opened its fire, was silenced and destroyed by a French and an English steamer, the *Phlégethon* and the *Amphion*. The guns, which had been buried under the ruins of the gun-carriages and the earth, were spiked by the sailors. The French encamped behind some high ground about two miles from the main battery, the French chasseurs spreading themselves over the intervening ground, to within 800 yards of the walls. A Russian officer was daring enough to leave the fort and advance about a dozen yards towards them, when he received a bullet in his breast and fell. Whether his rashness led to his death or not we cannot say, as some men instantly rushed out from the fort and took him in. One vessel (the *Penelope*) had, like the Russian officer, nearly fallen a victim to its temerity. It got aground within range of the forts, and was fired upon for three hours and-a-half, though happily without sustaining much injury. This was in consequence of several small ships going to her assistance, and thus drawing the attention of the forts upon themselves. Of these vessels the *Hecla* received several shots, and the main-mast of the *Pigmy* was torn away. The *Penelope* had to throw over her guns, water, and everything of weight, before she could be floated again, and rescued from her perilous position. She had two men killed and one wounded by the fire from the Russian fort, a result which may be regarded as favourable, when it is understood that 123 shots were fired at the vessel, and that twenty-one of them struck either her hull or rigging. The cholera, which in this fatal summer seems to have been almost universal, made its appearance amongst the French troops, but the infliction was not very severe.

The landing of the troops, to the number of 11,000, was effected with the greatest dispatch and without any casualty. As each regiment stepped on shore the men formed into order, and marched through the thick pine forests and over the heights, with their bright bayonets and red caps illuminated by the morning sun. The centre wing of the army encamped for the night in and around the village, about two miles from the fortress it was soon to attack. On the 11th, the sailors transported the great

guns through the village to the camp of the royal marines. During this time they were fired upon at intervals by one of the round towers. Sir Charles Napier, together with General Baraguay d'Hilliers, went through the encampment and arranged the disposition of the forces. The same day a Russian spy, in the garb of a female, was arrested in the camp. The fort continued a desultory fire on the troops all day; and a village was on fire and reduced to ashes by the Russian shells.

The bombardment began on the 13th. Behind Bomarsund were two towers, called fort Tzee and fort Nottich, each of which contained a garrison of 120 men. Fort Tzee was first attacked by the French, and afterwards fort Nottich by the English forces; the allies, however, not only acting in concert, but actually as parts of the same army. At four o'clock in the morning, the French battery of four 16-pounders and four mortars opened a tremendous fire upon the western fort. It was kept up for twelve hours, accompanied by a terrific roaring and rending. The shells burst in the embrasures and over the roof, and the shot destroyed the facings of the embrasures at every round. By four o'clock the Russians hung a flag of truce out of a porthole, and demanded two hours' respite to bury their dead. General Baraguay d'Hilliers granted them one hour; and, as might have been expected, they made use of it to obtain reinforcements and a further supply of ammunition from the other fort.

The hour expired, and the firing recommenced with a more certain and deadly fury. The riflemen on the rocks also poured into the embrasures a fatal storm of bullets. Indeed, the chasseurs employed their Minié rifles with such success, that the Russians had great difficulty in loading their guns. The eastern tower, therefore, came to the assistance of the garrison in the western, and hurled their shells over the besieged fort into the camp of the allies. At eight in the evening, the Russians attempted to gain a fresh respite by hanging out another flag of truce. Accordingly, the commandant of the artillery went to General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and inquired if the battery should cease firing. "Cease firing!" was the reply, "certainly not, sir. These men have not respected the object of their truce, and they shall not receive the slightest consideration. Continue your bombardment the whole night long."



In conformity with the orders of the general, the firing was carried on all night without cessation, and the ground almost rocked with the terrific explosions and the blows dealt by iron balls against the massive stone walls. The Russians held out with dogged bravery, and their commander expressed his intention of fighting to the last. At length the face of the tower on which the guns played was completely knocked away, a breach was nearly effected, and fort Tzee surrendered at nine o'clock on the morning of the 14th. The commandant would not give up his sword quietly, and in flourishing it about wounded a French officer in the face, who instantly ran him through the side, but the wound did not prove mortal. On the following day the fort was accidentally set on fire by a shell discharged by the Russians to dislodge the French. The fire continued smouldering and gathering strength for some hours; then the flames roared fiercely from the embrasures, and the tower blew up with a tremendous explosion which hurled its masses of granite and brickwork high into the air, and left nothing of it standing but a bare, grim, blackened ruin. Unhappily two Frenchmen were blown up with the fort.

During the night of the 14th a singular accident happened. A party of chasseurs had been out reconnoitring and were returning to their camp, when the French sentry, mistaking their tread for the approach of an enemy (or perhaps he had been asleep and dreaming), called out—"The Russians!—the Russians!" Instantly the guard, without challenging, fired upon the approaching party, and thus unfortunately killed seven and wounded thirteen of their own countrymen.

On the morning of the 15th, the English battery began a fierce firing of shot and shell upon fort Nottich. Captain Pelham, of the *Blenheim*, also landed a large 10-inch gun on the earthwork battery, and his crew kept up a steady fire in a very exposed position. As the shells burst over them, these brave fellows prostrated themselves for a moment, and then leaping again to their feet, renewed the assault. The guns of several vessels from time to time joined in the assault, while the *Edinburgh* and the *Ajax* directed their fire upon the large fort. The effect of these deadly and combined attacks was to be seen in the defaced and crushed condition of the fort. At six in the evening, the Russians hung out the white flag and surrendered. They had six

men killed, seven wounded, and 115 (besides three officers) taken prisoners. Among the latter was the Russian commandant, who, as he passed the ruins of the first round tower, looked up and exclaimed with an absurd assumption of pathos—"Oh, England, England, we did not expect this from you!" He also expressed a wish to see the battery that had done him so much mischief. On its being shown to him, he almost cried with vexation to find it contained only three guns. He said he thought there were at least twenty-five. On the morning of the 16th, the prisoners were marched under a guard to the boats, and put on board the *Termagant*. The loss of the English in this affair was slight—almost beyond belief. The Hon. Mr. Wrottesley, of the royal engineers, was killed, together with one marine, and seven or eight men were wounded. Very few ships were engaged in the affair, much to the disappointment of the Jack-tars, who longed to haul in near the forts and pour a few broadsides upon them.

The principal fortress, properly called Bomarsund, was not capable of much resistance after its supporting towers had fallen. The attack upon it commenced on the afternoon of the 14th, and was conducted by the land forces, assisted by the *Edinburgh* and one of the French liners, while the *Amphion*, *Ajax*, and *Driver* fired shot and shell at long range. The bombardment continued during the 15th, and on the 16th the governor, seeing that a longer resistance was useless, hung out a white flag from one of the embrasures in token of surrender. The signal was given to suspend firing, and Sir Charles Napier and Admiral Chads went, in a small unarmed boat, to the shore. At the same time the French general and his staff galloped up to the fort. General Bodisco, the Russian commander, came forth, complied with the demand of an unconditional surrender, and delivered up his sword to the English admiral and the French general. A command was then given to the French troops to advance. They did so, and many of them entered the fortress, while the rest drew up in line outside.

The next demand was for the arms of the Russians, which the dejected soldiers brought and piled up in heaps. The prisoners, to the number of 2,300 men, having collected their personal baggage, were ordered to be taken at once on board the men-of-war. During their removal the victors triumphantly played them out of the fortress. The

army was divided into two long files, extending from the gateway to the landing-place. The men stood with loaded guns and fixed bayonets, while the prisoners were brought out and marched between them two by two. They looked careworn, and exhausted with fatigue; for five days they had taken no rest, except at the side of their guns. Symptoms of revolt had been shown before the surrender; and when the army entered the fortress, many of the Russians had seized the spirit casks, and endeavoured to drown the consciousness of their defeat in intoxication. These fellows were got out with difficulty; and when the music struck up, they commenced their national pastime, and ludicrously danced a polka through the whole line. Poor creatures! perhaps captivity to generous foes came to them as a welcome deliverance from something worse. One drunken Russian soldier was affected in a very different manner. The ruffian was seized by two French soldiers, in an attempt to fire the powder-magazine. Being dragged forth he met the fate he deserved, and was shot. Within three hours after the surrender, the prisoners were safely lodged on board the men-of-war. The following morning the mole was crowded with the wives of these poor people, who came to see their husbands before their departure. Besides the prisoners, 139 pieces of artillery were taken in the different forts; other accounts say 202.

But this was not all: provisions for 3,000 men for two years were discovered; an enormous quantity of stores of all kinds; about £15,000 in Russian notes, useless to the captors; and eleven magazines, containing nearly 200 tons of powder. The latter was destined to blow up the forts as soon as the officers received authority from their respective governments to do so. Military men have expressed their opinion, that, in a short time, the place would have been as strong as Cronstadt. It was the intention of the emperor to build eleven more round forts, and another like Bomarsund. The foundations of some were began; and the large fort, which was a noble building, already stood fifteen or twenty feet high. It is supposed this was to have been his stepping-stone to Sweden; but his hopes were overthrown by the severe check he experienced in the destruction of Bomarsund.

The following interesting account from the pen of a naval officer supplies some further particulars:—

“By the time you get this, no doubt the English newspapers will have given you a vast deal more information than I can of the affair in detail. I can only write of the part I have been engaged in. Bomarsund is the only fortified place of all the Aland Islands, and was said to be impregnable. Beyond the great or centre battery, it has, or had, two tower batteries; the one tower was taken two day's ago by the French and English, and was occupied by them. The Russians had dug a mine from the great battery to the one taken, and Sir C. Napier, from information or suspicion, telegraphed the troops to leave. A few minutes after, the whole tower was blown to atoms. I came into the bay too late to see it, but not too late to hear it. The second tower was taken by assault of the marines and blue jackets last night late, and the governor taken prisoner, and to-day was the grand attack upon the centre battery. The firing from the ships commenced this morning about ten; at the same time the French and English troops were banging away on shore upon the places from their main forts: the scene was bewildering. I watched the shot and shell from the deck of the *Cuckoo* steamer until my eyes ached. Some fell short of the battery; others went over; many I could see plough up the ground at its foot; others dashed the roof into splinters: some shells burst in the air—a most singular sight. The volume of smoke from them did not separate for many minutes, but looked like small balloons floating about. The roar of guns was terrific. At last, at exactly half-past twelve, a white flag was seen flying upon the roof of the building. Sir C. Napier's ship (the *Bulldog*) and the French admiral's ship instantly sent up theirs, and all was quiet: the fort had surrendered. Two boats were then sent off to the fort from the admirals, and not another gun was heard: 2,000 Russians had surrendered prisoners to the allied fleets. The French and English troops now poured down by thousands from their main forts towards the battery, and boats from the ships in dozens, the boats of the *Royal William* sloop not long behind them: there was no resisting it. The men pulled away, and there we were, where only a few minutes before it would have been certain death to have shown our noses. Lost in wonder and awe at the devastation before us, the scene was too much. The prisoners were being taken by boatloads to the vessels, for conveyance to England and France; many of



them the poorest and most deplorable-looking objects it is possible to conceive; others, again, looking as if they had just escaped from a tyrant, and were at last freemen, laughing and quite jolly. Many were helplessly drunk, and were driven along by the soldiery. Carts were bringing out the sick and wounded—a melancholy sight, indeed. We did not enter far into the great battery, it being dangerous from the quantity of loose powder-bags lying about. The troops were engaged searching for the Russian officers; numbers of them had stowed themselves away, and were found insensibly drunk. None but those who have seen, as I now have, the capabilities of the allied powers, can form any idea of their means. The walls of this place are nine feet thick, solid granite; the roof is iron, and, under the iron, is sand six feet thick. Yet, there it is. Well have the French and English guns done their work: the place is a ruin; the roof torn off; the solid granite blown to fragments; the ground is ploughed up with shot and shell around it: and the ships that did this work were 2,700 yards off, and, as far as I can hear, not one ship received the least injury. The French troops have done well, it is said, with their rifles. They shot the men at the guns in the fort through the loopholes; the bullets (of which I have a pocketful) were as thick as hail at the foot of the building. The French soldiers were bringing out all sorts of things.

“The view from the ruin of the upper tower is delightful in the extreme, looking over small islands out of all number, but all covered with shrubs and trees. The men-of-war all decked out with their gay flags; the boats belonging to the ships sailing about in all directions, and the small Swedish boats navigated by women, was a sight not to be forgotten. The sheep here are anybody’s; they are very nimble, and our middies shoot them. I did not venture near the French camp, as the cholera is raging there violently. Of course, with all this gaiety of scene following immediately after the surrender of the great tower, there is the dark and gloomy in attendance; although unseen by many, I could not shut my eyes to the sight, and my ears to the sounds of woe from the poor Russian women—many with babies in their arms—whose husbands had either fallen or were now on their way to England or France, prisoners of war. That monster Nicholas had pressed these men, and they were actually locked into the fort I

have just been over, to fight until they perished. These poor women are now without homes or means of any kind whatever. The French they fear to approach, but cling to the English as protectors; and all the English here seem proud of the distinction. I saw some of our sturdy fellows dividing their rations with them, and sheltering them from the sun.

“I sat beside one poor creature who seemed overwhelmed with grief; her husband had had his arm blown off. I intended to give her some pieces of silver, and placed some before her. They were all allowed to see their husbands before leaving for England. The officers were allowed to take their wives with them; indeed, the English are very kind.”

The fall of Bomarsund was the most dignified and gratifying act hitherto performed by the allies in the cause of the Ottoman. Bomarsund, with its solid walls of granite nine feet thick, and its roof of iron, was smitten by the cannon of the allies as a house of glass might be by the mailed hand of a giant; itself shattered and overthrown, and its defenders carried away into captivity. But in losing Bomarsund, the czar also lost the reputation of his great fortresses for impregnability. If Bomarsund could be shattered, and if need were, pulverised, by French and English cannon, then why not Cronstadt also? Why not Sebastopol? The French general,\* in writing to the minister of war, thus referred to this point: “The destruction of Bomarsund will be a considerable loss for Russia, both in a material and moral point of view. We have, in one week, destroyed the *prestige* attached to their ramparts of granite, which, it has been said, were invulnerable against cannon. We know now, that there is nothing in these fine and threatening fortifications to secure them from the effects of a well-directed fire. This fine result, Monsieur le Maréchal, is due to the intelligence, the devotedness, and the courage of the officers and men of the expeditionary corps, and of the allied fleets. Everyone has done his duty; danger, fatigue, and privations have been unheeded by those French soldiers whom it is so glorious to command.” Admiral Napier much regretted that there was not scope for action for the whole of the fleet, and also that the enemy did not attempt to raise the siege

\* The French emperor bestowed upon General Baraguay d’Hilliers the staff of a marshal of France, as a reward for his exertions at Bomarsund.

with their fleets. In the latter case, judging from the zeal and gallantry of the officers and men under his command, he thought it most probable that many of the Russian ships would have found their way into British ports.

To restore tranquillity to the poor inhabitants of the Aland Isles, the following proclamation was issued and read in all their churches:—

“We, the undersigned commanders-in-chief of the combined naval and land forces, hereby authorise the authorities of these islands to continue in the administration of their respective duties, and we rely on their doing so with zeal and circumspection.

“In times of tumult and war, it devolves upon every well-disposed citizen to do his utmost in maintaining order and peace; the lower classes must not be led away with the belief that no law or order exists, for these will be enforced with as much rigour as heretofore.

“Since the late events, which have changed the aspect of these islands, the blockade has been raised, and the public are informed that they are at liberty to trade with Sweden on the same conditions and privileges as heretofore.

“Each and every one is cautioned against holding any communication or intercourse with the enemy or Finland; and if any one is found aiding them in any way, he will be punished most severely.

“Given under our hands, &c.,

“BARAGUAY D'HILLIERS.

“CHARLES NAPIER.

“PARSEVAL DESCHENES.

“—— JONES.”

The prisoners were equally divided between the French and English forces, 1,000 and odd to each. General Bodisco, the governor of Bomarsund, and a number of Russian officers, were sent by the steam frigate *Souffleur* to France, and the remainder of the prisoners belonging to the French were embarked on board the *Cléopâtre* and the *Syrène*, and taken to Brest. The general was accompanied by his two aides-de-camp, his wife, one of his children (a boy between four and five years of age), and two servants. The whole party were permitted to take apartments at an hotel, where they awaited the decision of the government as to their future destination.

On the 5th of September, the *Hannibal* and the *Termagant* arrived respectively at

Deal and Sheerness. The first brought 223 Russian prisoners; and the last 199 soldiers and one woman, together with three officers and their wives. The *Valorous* and the *Dauntless* also brought small numbers of prisoners; and the *James* arrived with 132 Russian soldiers, nine women, and thirteen children. Twenty of these prisoners were convicts, destined for Siberia, but sent to Bomarsund to assist in working the guns in the principal fort. They were said to be the most depraved characters, many of them having been condemned for murders, and others for the perpetration of most detestable crimes. These men were put on board the *Benbow* prison-ship. The Hon. Keith Stewart, captain of the *Termagant*, gave a farewell dinner to the officers and their wives previously to their being sent on board the *Devonshire*. Captain Swearoff, one of the Russian officers, proposed the health of their entertainer, and for himself and his associates begged to return him their most sincere thanks for the kindness shown, both to them and their wives, during the time they had been on board his ship. The officers stated that the emperor does not grant them any pay while prisoners of war, nor allow them to return on parole of honour, nor to serve. They all seemed quite happy at the idea of a residence in England, but earnestly expressed a hope that our government will confer on them the same liberty that was given to the officers of the *Tiger*—namely, to remain on shore, in private lodgings, at their own expense. The Russian press have, however, with their customary want of veracity, accused the English of treating their prisoners with extreme cruelty. The Russian soldiers were thin, ill-fed looking men, and inferior, both in physical strength and intelligence, to the soldiers of western Europe. Their long gray pepper-and-salt great coats, with faded facings, and destitute of any brass ornaments, gave them a poor and dingy look. Their wives were plainly but neatly dressed, most of them wearing coloured handkerchiefs round their heads, and bearing a resemblance to the Bavarian broom-girls we sometimes see in our streets. The Russian prisoners carried the cholera with them on board the *Termagant*, and out of forty-three of these poor fellows who were attacked during the passage to England, seventeen perished. The Russian officers were very superior to their men. They were fine-looking fellows, and both



well-educated and possessed of pleasing manners.

A curious circumstance has been stated in connexion with the destruction of Bomarsund. It is, that towards the last of the conflict, the Russians loaded their muskets with silver rubles, or as others say, with shot made out of rubles cut into pieces. Whether this was done from a superstitious feeling, or with a view to deprive the victors of the contents of the military chest, is not known. Opinions lean towards the latter speculation; because after the surrender of the fortress, a quantity of specie was found secreted in the earth. The charging their muskets with coins may, however, have arisen from a superstition. Probably the ignorant Russian soldiers feared that their enemies might have been in league with the powers of darkness, and the idea that a wizard can only be slain by a silver bullet is extremely general among ignorant and superstitious minds.

When the allies were in possession of Bomarsund, the question naturally arose, what should be done with it? Should they repair and occupy it, or level its fortifications with the dust, and thus prevent them from again falling into the hands of the Russians? On this subject the admirals sent for commands from their respective governments, who returned for answer that the fortifications should be utterly destroyed, and the islands abandoned. The project of restoring the ruined fortifications to Sweden was contemplated, and we believe an offer of them was made to that state, on condition that she should hold them by an arrangement with the allies until the peace: but Sweden appears not to have accepted the offer, probably because she feared herself not strong enough to retain them.

It was certainly the wisest policy to lay Bomarsund in ruins. "Destroy the nests," said a warrior who fought against the enemies of the mind, "destroy the nests, and the crows will not return." As to a permanent occupation of the Aland Islands by French or English troops, the extreme bitterness of the winters would render it a compound of madness and cruelty. The rigour of that merciless season is such as neither French nor English could stand up against; and even amongst the Russian troops, the mortality there is most alarming. This is seen by the inscriptions on the tombs in the military cemetery, and from the fact that the Russian government had

lately ordered the construction of a military hospital as spacious as the fortress itself. From the commencement of November to the end of April the climate is so bitter, that the centigrade thermometer ranges from 20° to 25°, and rises often to 30°. During this period, the cold is sometimes increased by violent north-westerly winds, which frequently blow in winter during several consecutive days, and render the islands completely uninhabitable for foreigners. Some of the Russian officers taken prisoners at Bomarsund stated that they had often travelled in sledges from Aland to St. Petersburg, encamping at night on the ice. They said, also, there were still in the island several old men, who perfectly recollected having seen, in 1809, a corps of Russian cavalry, of 15,000 men, coming from Finland, and crossing the Gulf of Bothnia to Aland on the ice.

The blowing up of the fortification commenced on the 30th of August, with the destruction of Fort Prästo, which had escaped almost uninjured from the bombardment. The necessary quantity of powder having been placed beneath its walls, the preparations made, and the train fired, a rumbling sensation was felt, then two terrific explosions were heard, and the fort was hurled into the air in uncouth masses, accompanied by enormous columns of dust and smoke. A strong wind carried away the artificial darkness thus caused, and revealed nothing of Fort Prästo but two little bits of wall, each about twenty feet high, standing amidst a ruinous heap of blackened rafters and masses of stone. The enormous stores of provisions found in Bomarsund were generously given to the poor country-people, the homes of many of whom had been burnt by the Russians to prevent their affording shelter to the allies. The supply was very seasonable, and the poor creatures flocked from all parts to receive it. Indeed, but for it, many of them would probably have starved during the winter. Fort Notich was mined and blown up. Only half the quantity of powder used at Prästo was employed, and the ruin was not so complete.

The same day, a Russian vessel, bearing a flag of truce flying from a pole forward, arrived at Bomarsund. She was instantly boarded, both by English and French guard-boats, and her captain carried before Sir C. Napier. On being questioned, the captain said that he had been sent from Helsingfors

to a place near Abo, with a flag of truce, where he was to meet the officers' and soldiers' wives taken at Bomarsund; but not finding them there, he ventured to approach the latter place. Sir Charles told him, that by doing so he had laid himself open to capture, because he had no business to come beyond his first destination; and therefore he would be detained until it was convenient to send him back with an escort.

The mines under the great tower of Bomarsund were fired in the evening of the 2nd of September. It was nearly dark when the series of explosions, to the number of five or six, occurred. The effect was grand, even to awfulness. "None of the shells," says a spectator, "had been removed from the fort, and when they were blown into the air, those projectiles were banging off in all directions, sparkling like a bright star at the moment of their bursting. The ruins afterwards took fire, and burnt with great violence. About twelve the fire reached another magazine, which sent the burning timber and hot stones blazing like metcours through the air. A portion of the centre of the tower had been purposely left for Admiral Chads to try the effect of the broadsides of the *Edinburgh*. On Monday, the 4th, he laid his ship within 500 yards, and fired seven broadsides, which made a complete breach in the wall, knocking several embrasures into one, and proving pretty clearly that, if the other forts of the emperor are built like this, they are no match against our 'wooden walls.' The admiral then tried broadsides at 1,000 yards, but neither the firing nor its effect was satisfactory. I am sorry to say, that four natives were blown up with the fort. They had been repeatedly warned to go away, but secreted themselves in hopes, I suppose, of plunder, not believing the mines were to be sprung. One man escaped, by some miracle, to tell the tale. The foundations of the forts in contemplation (some of which are already twenty feet high, and were to contain 160 guns in casemates) are being blown up by some few sappers and miners left behind for that purpose. With this exception all the troops have embarked, and left *Led Sund* yesterday for home."

Several vessels of the allied fleet left *Led Sund* as early as the 21st of August, and steamed in the direction of Hango. On Sunday, the 27th, General Baraguay d'Hilliers and Sir Charles Napier reached Hango, and there was a probability that the scenes

enacted at Bomarsund would be repeated. The disheartened Russians, however, foreseeing the result of a bombardment by such a force as then threatened them, and anxious by any means to escape from the disgrace of defeat and surrender, themselves blew up the fortifications of Hango in the sight of the enemy, and retreated to Abo, where 15,000 of their countrymen were stationed. The steamers proceeded in the direction of Abo, but after ascertaining that it was strongly guarded and protected by numerous gun-boats, they retired. The reason of this act is assigned in the following despatches respecting it:—

*"Reconnaissance of the Enemy's Gun-boats and Steamers at Abo."*

*"Duke of Wellington, Led Sund, Aug. 27th."*

"Sir,—Having received information that Russian troops and gun-boats were among the islands, I sent Captain Scott with a small squadron to find them out, and I beg to enclose his very able report.

"Captain Scott threaded his way through the islands in a most persevering manner, as their lordships will see by the chart I send; his ships were repeatedly on shore, and the *Odin* no less than nine times, before they discovered the enemy's gun-boats and steamers lying behind a floating boom, supported on each side by batteries and a number of troops, covering the town of Abo, where they have collected a large force.

"I take this opportunity of bringing under their lordships' notice the very great exertions of the surveying officers, Captain Sullivan, assisted by Mr. Evans, master of the *Lightning*, and Commander Otter, of the *Alban*; and I have no hesitation in saying, that it is owing to their exertions this fleet have found their way, with comparatively little damage, into creeks and corners never intended for ships-of-the-line; day and night have they worked, and worked successfully. Commander Otter is an old officer, and well worthy of promotion; and Captain Sullivan and his assisting surveyor deserve the protection of their lordships.

"I have, &c.,

"C. NAPIER.

"Vice-admiral and Commander-in-chief  
The Secretary of the Admiralty, London."

(Enclosure No. 1 in Sir Charles Napier's Letter.)—Her Majesty's ship *Odin*, *Led Sund*, August 25th.

"Sir,—I have the honour to state that, in pursuance of your orders, dated the 18th of August, I proceeded, with her majesty's ships *Odin*, *Alban*, *Gorgon*, and *Driver*, under my command, towards Kumblinge and the islands east of it.



"Having procured a pilot at Dagerby, we felt our way on with boats and leads through a most difficult and intricate navigation, in the course of which every ship has been on shore (*Gorgon* and *Odin* frequently), but we hope with no further injury than that done to the copper in various places.

"At Kumblinge and the adjacent islands, I was unable to obtain any information of troops or gun-boats, but learnt on Sunday, at Asterholm, that a small fast steam-boat from Abo was in our immediate vicinity.

"Rather than return to your flag without intelligence, I resolved to attempt a passage to Abo, and on Monday, at daylight, leaving the larger ships at anchor, I took all the masters in the *Alban*, surveyed and buoyed off a passage for ten miles to Bergham, and then returned for the other ships, but the *Gorgon* grounding delayed us for that night.

"On Tuesday we made our way in safety into the comparatively main open track to Abo, beyond Bergham; at two, P.M., observed a small steamer watching us; and at three, P.M., several gun-boats moving a body of troops from the point (one and-a-half miles to the north-west) up to the chain across the narrow entrance to the harbour.

"Having approached to within 3,000 yards, the *Alban* stood in to sound. The entrance of the harbour was closed by two impediments; the one in front appeared to be a chain laid on a floating platform, the other of stakes and booms, between which the gun-boats were stationed at regular intervals, and the steam-vessels (four in number) were under the shelter of the points.

"About four, P.M., the *Alban* fired the first shell, which burst over one of the gun-boats. I then commenced firing, and was followed at intervals by the *Gorgon* and *Driver*, but with little or no effect that we could discover, except that of fully answering my purpose in drawing a return from the masked batteries and gun-boats. Only one of the former, at the end of the boom, mounted a gun or guns of large calibre and long range, but which was concealed from our view by a point of land. The others—three in number—about one mile to the west of the boom, as far as we could judge, did not in any one case mount more than five, or less than three, small guns. A fort, of apparently eight or nine large guns, at a distance, constructed to enfilade both passages, fired repeatedly, but the shot invariably fell a very short distance beyond the south end of Little Beckholm.

"As my object was not to attack Abo, but to examine its defences, I contented myself with firing a shot occasionally at the gun-boats, or whatever looked like a masked battery. In the meantime, Commander Otter, in the most zealous and gallant manner, after going as close

as it was prudent in the *Alban*, pulled in with his gig, sounding just within range of the gun-boats and batteries, which were all the time keeping up a constant fire.

"The sum of the information I have been able to obtain with his assistance, and that of Commanders Cracroft and Hobart, amounts to this;—seventeen row-boats, two guns each, and about twenty oars on each side; four steam-vessels (all small), two having the flag with cross anchors in it; and another was observed steaming away through the channel to the eastward of Beckholm. Three (if not four) masked batteries, and another I think in course of construction, for the position of which I refer you to the very clear delineation executed by Commander Otter.

"The channel appears to be very narrow, and the thick woods were evidently full of soldiers. We learnt that our arrival had been anticipated (as we expected, knowing that we had been watched by a steamer for some days), and that 4,000 additional troops had been sent on the previous day, and 5,000 more were expected to arrive on the following day; that there were six steamers—five small and one large (the latter we did not see)—and eighteen boats and two guns, and eighty men, besides soldiers in each.

"The weather was so bad on Thursday that I was detained under Bergo, and went into Bomarsund this morning; when, having communicated with Captain Warden, and received his despatches, I proceeded to join your flag.

"I have only to add my very anxious hope that my proceedings may meet with the approbation of the commander-in-chief.

"I have, &c.,

"FRANCIS SCOTT, Captain.

"Vice-admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B.,  
"Commander-in-Chief."

(Enclosure No. 2 in Sir Charles Napier's Letter.)—Her Majesty's ship *Odin*, Led Sund, August 25th.

"Sir,—In returning to your flag from detached service with the squadron you did me the honour to place under my orders, it is my gratifying duty to express to you how well and ably I have been supported by Commanders Otter, Cracroft, and Hobart, in their respective ships, during my late examination of Abo and its defences, and engagement with the batteries and gun-boats at that place; and I beg to offer my humble testimony to their ability, zeal, and great exertions during a week of very difficult and harassing duties.

"I desire most particularly to call your attention to the services performed by Commander Otter during that time. Nothing but the most unceasing and laborious efforts of a clever, indefatigable, and zealous officer could have performed the duties I required of him, which

alone enabled me to obtain the information herewith enclosed, and to examine a place so difficult of access and so little known as Abo, in the limited time to which I was restricted by you.

"Under the above circumstances, upon public grounds, and for the advantage of the naval service, which I know you have so much at heart, I beg to urge your recommendation of that officer and Lieutenant William Mould, senior and gunnery lieutenant of this ship, to the lords commissioners of the admiralty for that promotion their constant and valuable services have so long entitled them to expect and hope for. "I have, &c.,

"FRANCIS SCOTT, Captain.

"Vice-admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B."

We shall be pardoned for dwelling upon this first great event in the war, as far as the allies were concerned, because we can do so with something of national pride. Such an event was wanting to preserve the reputation of England and France from the stain of indifference or idleness. The laurels had hitherto been worn by the brave Turks, and (with the exception of a few individual cases of chivalrous action) by them alone; but in the destruction of Bomarsund the allies also snatched a wreath. So much of interest, indeed, pertains to this memorable bombardment, which rocked the pride of Russia, that we shall offer no apology for the insertion of the following pictorial letters, as they give many particulars on minor points not contained in other accounts, and have moreover such a dashing, sailor-like air, that they will be instantly recognised as the composition of a British naval officer:—

"Her Majesty's ship *Leopard*, Prästo Channel, Bomarsund, Wednesday, Aug. 16th, half-past five, A.M.

"My dear —,—On Monday we did little. The large fort commenced firing in the evening on the one that had been taken by the French (for I must tell you we saw the tricolour planted on it on the Monday morning.) They entered it on that morning, and found thirty-four soldiers, with a captain, stretched on the ground perfectly exhausted from fatigue. They were made prisoners. The fortress was gutted with shot and shell; and, as a French officer described it to me, a perfect 'lace-work' from rifle-balls. All the wounded had been removed—fifty-nine bodies were found in quicklime, where they stowed them, as they dared not leave the fort to bury them; but they consider more than this number

fell. (The French discovered a train leading to a mine, they supposed; they could not find the mine, but they cut off the train, and having made all their arrangements they prepared to occupy the place.) But, to return from this awkward and long parenthesis. We were on Monday morning ordered to be about 2,000 yards off the second highest fort. We did so, and, as I say, the lower and large Russian fort opened fire on the upper one, and on yesterday morning, when I went on deck, it was smoking away cheerily—it appears they set fire to it with red-hot shell and rockets. I believe the French soldiers had then to evacuate. The English, at eight, A.M., yesterday, opened fire on the fort we lay abreast of, from a screened battery and breastwork on the hill, and we, to aid them, opened from our position; but, though our shot struck at that long range, it was uncertain, and as the admiral was off to the commander-in-chief, and we dared not go further on without him, we had to give it up, as it was only wasting shell; for not more than one in six hit, as the ship was rolling a little, but what did hit did damage indeed. They returned our fire, and during the day their shot flew over us, between our mast and rigging; many struck close to the ship, some of them red-hot; fortunately we did not get hulled. The English battery on the hill kept up a fierce fire on the fort: it was manfully returned by the three forts, the English directing their attention to the fort abreast of which we lay alone; the effect of the shot and shell on the roof was beautiful. The fort that had been taken was smoking away, when at half-past eleven, A.M., I saw it fly up into the air with an awful cloud of lurid, pitchy, greasy smoke and flames. Through the glass I could see millions of all sorts of bodies and stones flying up, and then came an awful roar and report! All was one huge impenetrable black veil on the hill, hiding camps, forts, and batteries for a time; and when this rolled sluggishly away, a remnant of a shattered wall alone pointed out the place where stood the proud fort that had been so hotly contended for but a day before! The fire continued all day without stopping for a second; it was one eternal ceaseless roar of artillery. I could see the English sand-battery on the hill getting sadly knocked about by the enemy's shot, and I learnt in the evening that one officer, a lieutenant of engineers, a son of Lord Wrottesley, had been cut in



two with a shot; besides several soldiers killed and wounded, some pickets and outlying sentries were picked off. The roar of artillery never slackened till seven o'clock, P.M., when a white rag was seen thrust up through the fearful shot-swept gap in the roof and wall of the devoted fort. Firing instantly ceased. What has taken place since then between the English and the governor of the fort I have not yet learnt. I conceive their ammunition must be all out, for I do think that they would return our fire from only a single stone of the wreck of the forts. At eight o'clock (by-the-bye) we are to weigh, and to-day is to be the grand day. This is the day for the navy! Prästo fort and the large fort are this day to be the victims of the wooden walls; the large fort is as big as the other three put into one. They will, I believe, make the resistance of desperate men. This will be the severest day's fighting we have had yet; we are to weigh and go to the fleet to take up our position in line of battle at eight o'clock, opposite the large fort. It is now half-past six; all is in anchor preparation, and I have no doubt but that we shall (as many as are alive) walk into the ruins of Bomarsund this evening."

"Thursday morning, Aug. 17, six, A.M.

"Victory!—Aland is ours. At half-past nine, A.M., yesterday, the *Leopard*, 18, the *Hecla*, 6, and *Cocyle* (French), 4, steamed into within 1,600 yards of Prästo fort, and about 800 yards behind this we had the main fort of Boomar. This was a good dodge as it turned out, for every shot that flew over Prästo went slap into the other. We anchored at half-past nine o'clock, and beat to quarters at forty minutes past nine. We were all ready. The admiral came down on the main deck and made a short speech to the men, who, by the way, fought with nothing but trowsers and a sleeveless flannel on. Fire! and a broadside from the ships went slap into the devoted forts; a few trees intervened between us, so we could only see the roof. Broadside after broadside continued to be discharged, and I suppose we fired a dozen or so before they replied, and this dozen (we afterwards heard from one of them) killed and wounded sixty of them; at last they opened. I heard the shot strike our side and pitch close to us. Well, the fire was kept up with great rapidity from six main deck 32's, two 84's, and two 68's—all shell. It continued for

about an hour and-a-half. I went up the main deck occasionally, and looking through the port could see the shot ricochetting towards us and go slap into our sides. One shot came right through, and rolled across the main deck. This lasted, as I say, an hour and-a-half; not an accident took place on board, though how they escaped I know not, for the old *Leopard* had twelve shots through her hull, the maintopmast shot away, and a great hole in both sides of her foremost funnel. One large paddle-box boat, on the starboard side, got struck by a 32-pound shot; first cutting the ridge-rope, it passed through both sides of the boat, passed over the deck, carried away an iron stanchion two inches thick (its own breadth of it), cut another ridge-rope, and went on its way as though nothing had happened. The shot that took away our topmast was a 32-pounder; it cut the starboard topmast rigging, went clean through the maintopmast above the cap (fourteen inches solid pine!) drove splinters three feet long up and down it, right through the centre; it went clean through the mainroyal yard and sail, stopped up in the port-topmast shrouds, which it also cut, and passed on its way. The splinters flew about all over the ship; the piece of iron stanchion cut a coil of rope, and struck a piece a foot thick off the edge of the paddle-box. It's wonderful what a shot will do; but not an accident occurred—no killed or wounded. I don't know about the *Cocyle*. On the white flag being hoisted, we went round to Boomar, to report to the commander-in-chief, who, with Admiral Plumridge and the French and English generals, went to treat. The general of the fort yielded up his sword to Sir Charles or to General Jones—I know not which—and the garrison laid down their arms. Old Bodisco was asked if he surrendered to the allies. He said, 'Yes; I hope you think I fought my forts well?' 'Yes,' said the English general, 'you fought as long as a brave man should.' We then made a general recall of all ships engaged, some miles and miles off, and we hauled in close to the large fort to take the prisoners. Three thousand French, or more, and as many English troops, marched into the fort with colours flying; 2,000 Russians, soldiers and officers, marched out disarmed, and we commenced taking them on board. The large fort was riddled—miserably riddled; we took 450 men and five officers; the latter appeared very broken-spirited—the men did not care. The officers, as also

the men, begged to be let lie down, for it was three weeks since any man in the forts had taken off as much as his boots. They had slept at their guns—they looked like it, indeed; many were seriously wounded, and we had all sorts of surgery on them—shattered bones, slashes of shot and shell—all, all sorts. We made them as comfortable as a ship with 800 in her could. They had a mortar battery in the large fort; but they said our fire had killed such numbers at the mortars that they could not use them. It seems they never expected us to open on them, and were sitting smoking and lolling about, when slap went our first broadside into them, killing and wounding sixty men.

"The *Leopard* was highly complimented by Old Charley. The poor old ship was the envy of all these crack line-of-battle ships and frigates, going up to the commander-in-chief, hot out of action, the colours flying, her sides pierced with the enemy's shot, her maintopmast shot away, her poor dear old funnel smoking through two shot-holes half-way up, and her great white paddle-box boat with two holes in it you might jump through—the smoke still wreathing out of the muzzles of her guns as she steamed in close to the forts that she had given the *coup de grace* to and caused to hoist the white flag. Good old *Leopard*, I love her! We got cheered by the *Hecla* as she winded to under our stern. We quickly sent down the stump of the topmast, and sent a spiek-and-span new one up, plugged the shot-holes, and in an hour or two were all a-taut; but even at six o'clock in the evening, if you put your hand on the guns, you would find them still hot. The officers (Russian) begged to be allowed to write to their wives and families that they had left behind: of course they got permission. Indeed they were well treated; taken down to the gun-room, got wine, tea, coffee: in a word, we were all hand-in-glove with the men who a few short hours before would have shot or sabred us like dogs—such is war. We came down to the fleet at Led Sund, to put our prisoners on board the *Hannibal* to go to England. The *Hecla*, *Sphinx*, &c., brought down the rest. We are now going back to Boomar: we will take the guns out of the forts and blow them to Old Nick. It will be a grand explosion. We put our prisoners on board the *Hannibal* at five this morning, so I got precious little sleep last night; but it is war time, and we don't look for luxuries. I will write again this evening; till then, adieu."

"Friday, August 18th, ten, A.M.

"All day yesterday I spent rambling over the ruins of the four forts. I don't know how to describe the scene—you must see it to know what it is like. First, I examined the large fort; the roads approaching it were ploughed up with shot, and strewn with 32, 68, and 84-pounder shot and broken shell, grape, broken rocks, beams of burning wood, large fragments of the metal roof, sand-bags, gabions, &c., in the most dreadful confusion. The roof and walls of the fort were smashed to atoms; the embrasures in many cases were beaten to pieces, sometimes two knocked into one, and all about them literally pitted with Minié rifle-balls. There was no leave given to go into the forts, so I rambled on the ruins of the one blown up on the top of the hill. About 300 yards on the road above the big fort, on a hill, there was a small French sand-battery quite safe, which did all the dreadful work on the back of the fort. The Russians had forts in the progress of erection, so that if we had left them for another year, more than twice the present defences would have existed. I got among the smoking ruins—such a scene! One side-wall and tower alone stood; it was red-hot in many places; so hot that it burnt our boots. We climbed about. A large piece of iron dropped from the roof and grazed my cheek, cutting me. If it had struck me full it would have knocked out my brains. All the guns were precipitated down the sides of the declivity, on the top of which stood the fort. At the bottom of a round tower, where I was guided by the smell, I found at the bottom of a dark winding stair a small room, about six feet by four, with an iron door blown off its hinges, some loose flags, with quicklime bulging up between them; I guessed from the stench, that this was where they had stowed some of the dead. I half raised a flag (for they were heavy), and, sure enough, there were the bodies. I forced a stick some four feet among them, so I think it was deep. There was little to be seen at the fort (it was totally destroyed) but smouldering ruins, in many places still red-hot and blazing bright. In most places, the sulphurous vapour would nearly choke us, and we had to run back to the fresh air; but we did not leave it until we had explored every bit of it. Going hence I went to the second fort. I fell in with a French officer and French priest (for they brought out three



priests.) We all went to examine the forts together: they are very strong; but never again will I place faith in stone walls against wooden ones. If I ever have my choice to fight, it shall be in a ship. Walls six and eight feet thick, of nearly solid granite, beaten into one shapeless mass of ruins by ship shot! On one side, where only three 32-pounders had been playing on these walls, the two lower embrasures, and, of course, guns, were hidden ten feet by the rubbish of the breach overhead. The guns of the upper tier had fallen out, carriages and all, and lay at the bottom of the immense heap of ruins in the valley. One gun was smashed to atoms by our shot—such wreck, such dreadful destruction—I could not have believed it. In the middle of the fort is an open round yard; here was a deep stone cistern twenty feet deep and twenty square, half filled with water, and at the bottom of this lay the dead, with shot flung on them to keep them down; others were buried, or rather half-buried, in the clay of the roof, for the roof consists of four feet of hard earth, and over this a roof of beams forty-two inches square, and thick sheet iron. On this bed of earth we found thousands of our shot, split and whole shells, &c.; five bodies we found beside the magazine, sitting up resting against the wall. All the rooms were covered with blood, and on the walls you might see the marks of bloody fingers. I came to where the surgeons had been at work; there were a few beds knocked to pieces by shells, and all soaked in blood; buckets of coagulated blood lying about, with medicine bottles, bandages, wet sponges, basins of water, &c. In fact, all the appliances of military surgery. They could not have less than 150 killed. I took away a great many relics of the siege. I saw the effect of some of our 68-pound and 84-pound shot. The blocks of granite in the face of the walls are, on an average, about four cubic feet thick. These were backed by four more feet of solid brickwork. In many places, when our shot struck from a distance of 1,700 yards, one of these blocks would split in all directions, and be driven back an inch into the breastwork; that was cracked and forced into the interior of the fort. You can hence readily understand how it is that a continued repetition of such blows as the foregoing will soon crumble down the thickest masonry. Nothing can withstand the iron storm of a ship's broadside. I do believe its effect is tremendous;

and stone-work powders before its force. In the yards were furnaces for heating the shot, with shot in them yet hot; also, in every compartment with their guns was a store, also full of red-hot shot; so they fired nothing else scarcely at us. Such destruction, such ruin, I could not have believed. I am not able to convey to you an idea of the enormity of the destruction done, so it is out of the question. We are coaling ship, and going off to the Gulf of Finland to Baro Sound. Admiral Plumridge is going to the *Neptune*, and we are going to have Admiral Martin. They talk of more fighting at Hango Head; I don't know. God bless you. Adieu."

But what did Russia—what did the Emperor Nicholas say to the taking of Bomarsund? How was this pleasant news received at St. Petersburg? Was it, like the bombardment of Odessa, regarded as another triumph or semi-victory? Was a *Te Deum* performed within the gorgeous walls of St. Isaac's, and the city of the czar illuminated? No, none of these things were done: the smouldering ruins of Bomarsund were there to tell their own tale; the batteries of the allies had beaten down even Russian sophistry; and the defeat was admitted by the Russian press. It was evident that the czar himself began to feel the effects of the storm he had created; and to fear, that like the devil-dealing wizard in the old nursery tale, he had raised a spirit for his own destruction. An extreme depression was felt in trade, and a general feeling of gloom was reported to have prevailed among the population. The following article from the *Invalide Russe*, contains the Russian account of the bombardment and capture of Bomarsund:—

"The last news from the Aland Islands was to the 27th of July, the date of the landing of the French troops. From that time commenced the complete investment, by sea and land, of the fortifications of those islands, and all means of receiving direct and certain information ceased. It was only known from the reports of the inhabitants which had been sent to the governor of Abo, that the enemy, after having landed 10,000 men upon the principal island, had begun to construct batteries, and were firing upon our fortifications with powerful artillery. Since the 31st of July (12th of August) there was heard at Abo, on the Island of Aland, a heavy cannonade, which continued from sunrise to sunset; but all the accounts agreed in stating that our fortifications held out vigorously, and had

destroyed a battery constructed by the French, near the village of Finsby. From the 2nd (14th) of August the cannonading proceeded with redoubled violence, but suddenly ceased two days afterwards, and the melancholy news was spread that the enemy had taken possession of the fort of Aland.

"Although up to this period no positive news has been received from Alaud, with the exception of private reports, there is no doubt as to the lamentable fate of our fortifications. Although differing in regard to certain details, those reports agree upon the principal points.

"The fortifications of Aland were composed of a fortified barrack, occupying the eastern extremity of the principal island on the strait of Bomarsund, and three towers designated by the letters C, U, and Z. These works, separated from each other, were the only works finished, the greater portion of the fortress being merely sketched out and only existing in project. The garrison was composed of the Finland battalion of the line (No. 10), and two companies of the battalion of sharpshooter grenadiers, under the command of Colonel de Furehjem, who, from the commencement of the siege, occupied a side battery, raised temporarily to the south of the fort. The first attempts of the enemy were directed, as it appears, against the tower C, situated to the west of the fort, and he obtained possession of it on the 14th of August, after an unceasing bombardment. According to the statements of several individuals, the brave defenders of this tower, deprived at last of all possibility of continuing their resistance, decided upon a hopeless sortie, which threw the ranks of the enemy into disorder, and afterwards blew up the tower when the French had entered it.

"On the 15th of August the enemy attacked the tower U, situated on Cape Nordwick, to the north of the principal fort, and took possession of it also, with considerable loss. On the 16th, at daybreak, the enemy directed all his power by land and by sea against the fortified barrack, which was inundated with a shower of shells and balls. Ultimately, towards one o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy took possession of the last fortification. A report prevails that the commandant of the place, Major-general Bodisco, Colonel Furehjem, and a portion of the garrison were taken prisoners of war. It is said that the enemy was astonished both at the energy and the duration of their resistance, and that in testimony of his esteem for the brave defenders of the fort, he returned the officers their swords.

"This is all that is known of this lamentable occurrence, which it was impossible to prevent. However painful may be the fate of the fortifications of Aland, isolated as they were as an advanced post, we have in this respect the consolation of knowing that the Russian troops remained faithful to their duty and to military honour. By defending during eight days, against fifty-

eight ships and 10,000 soldiers, a secondary and unfinished fort, the garrison of Aland has merited the respect even of the enemy, and has heroically sustained the glory of the Russian arms.

"On the 22nd of August five of the enemy's steamers entered the archipelago of Abo, and attacked seventeen gun-sloops of the 2nd battalion of the flotilla of the west, which, with a few small steam-tugs, were at anchor near the island of Rousal, and blocked up the channel leading to Abo. The enemy opened a sharp cannonade at a distance of 2,000 sagues. His balls, shells, and bombs for the most part went beyond the sloops, which waited quietly until the enemy approached within good range, and did not open their fire till then. The cannonade lasted more than two hours and-a-half, during which time we had three men killed and eight wounded; among the latter were three men belonging to the naval militia of Finland. The enemy retired, having one of his steamers in tow in consequence of the damage he suffered.

"In his report of this affair the naval captain of the first rank, Akouloff, commander of the western brigade of the rowing flotilla, bears testimony to and particularly praises the coolness and the excellent dispositions made by Captain Kryganieff, the captain of a corvette, and eulogises very highly all the officers, acknowledging also the zeal of the crews.

"His majesty the emperor has deigned to express his satisfaction to the officers, and to confer twelve marks of honour of the military order upon the crews."

The following article is from the same journal, under the head of additional details respecting the defence of the fortifications of Aland. It is not so intelligible as we could wish; but the Russian scribe must tell his story in his own way:—

"In completion of the details already given relative to the capture of the fortifications of Aland, an account has just been received from Lieutenant-general Rokassovsky, commander of the troops in Finland, containing a detailed narrative from the honorary councillor Westorius, formerly superintendent of the magazine of provisions of Aland, who was at the principal island during the whole time of the siege of the fort. M. Westorius was sent by the commander, on the 7th of August, to purchase from the inhabitants of the neighbouring village forage and provisions for the support of the place. In returning on the next day to Skarpans, he perceived that the route to the fort had already been intercepted by the enemy, and, wishing at all events to avoid being made prisoner, M. Westorius concealed himself until the 19th of August, in the villages and woods of Aland, and ultimately succeeded in reaching Finland, having passed across the lines of the



cruisers in a fishing-boat. Having, on the 28th of August, reached Helsingfors, he gave to the authorities the following account of the siege and defence of the fortifications of Aland:— ‘In consequence of the bombardment of the principal fort of Aland, on the 21st of June last, by three English ships of war, the commander of Aland ordered the construction of a fresh land battery on the south-west coast of the bay of Lumpar, which was effected in the course of the month by the soldiers of the garrison of Aland, under the command of Captain du Kransold, chief of the detachment of artillery of the island. At the same time there were sent from the fort five guns of the rampart, for which the workmen had made new carriages, under the orders of Sub-lieutenant Pistchouline, of the artillery garrison of Aland, and in accordance with the directions of Captain du Kransold. When this battery was ready, a certain number of picked men, taken from the Finland battalion, of the line No. 10, from the garrison of artillery of Aland, were ordered to work the battery, under the command of Lieutenant Schimanovsky and Sub-lieutenant Pistchouline. Detachments of the 3rd and 4th companies of the battalion of grenadier riflemen, under the command of Colonel of the Guard de Furnjelm, adjutant of the governor of Abo, were ordered to defend this battery. Ultimately, after the entry of the Anglo-French fleet, to the number of more than thirty vessels, into the bay of Lumpar, it was demolished, the guns were destroyed, and all the men were sent to the principal fort, and a portion of the riflemen were stationed in the three towers. All this was entirely completed on the 6th of August.

“According to the statement of M. Westorius, the garrison of each tower was composed of about ninety men of the Finland battalion of the line No. 10, and about twenty-five men of the artillery and engineers, with three officers; and, in addition, in the tower C were Captain of Artillery de Tesche; Lieutenant de Salberg, of the battalion of the line; Ensign de Bolfras, and Sub-lieutenant Couradi, of the battalion of grenadier riflemen. In the tower U, Lieutenant of Artillery Zvereff, Second Captain de Mélat, and Sub-lieutenant de Bluhm, of the battalion of the line. Also in the tower Z, the Lieutenant of Artillery Chatelain, and Captains de Knoning and Pérémilowsky, of the battalion of the line.

“At the same time—that is to say, during the month of June—according to the instructions of the commandant, there was constructed, under the superintendence of the head of the engineers, in the principal fort, a masked earth battery, covering three Paixhan guns, all the openings being walled round, internal as well as external, the latter not being armed with guns.

“During the construction of the battery of Lumpar four pieces of the garrison of field artillery of Aland, under the command of Captain of Artillery Schvétoff, were divided into two detachments, one of which took post at the limit of the force of Schvétoff, and the other near Mougstekt, each supported by detachments of grenadier riflemen. There existed on these two points old batteries in ruins, which the soldiers reconstructed. In the night between the 5th and 6th of August these four pieces were taken from their positions and placed in the fort, with men to work them and troops to defend them. In the evening of the 7th of August, twenty-four artillery horses were sent to Gerad, the officer of the crown at Aland, that they might be fed by the inhabitants.

“Such was the situation of the fortifications when, on the 24th of July, there arrived seven of the enemy’s vessels in the bay of Lumpar. This number successively increased, and amounted in a few days to more than thirty. At the same time the enemy surrounded the fortifications on the other sides. His vessels remained quietly at anchor, and were only occupied in sounding until the 7th of August. On that day it was remarked that the enemy’s vessels were being towed into the bays of Lumpar and Wargata, and it was presumed that troops intended for land were on board, and this idea was confirmed the next day; for at two o’clock in the morning the enemy landed troops upon two points—viz., to the west of the village of Ivanwik, and to the east of that of Hutta. The riflemen advanced from these points in large masses, and the two troops assembled together at Finby, situated three versts from the fortifications. There they bivouacked, and the head of the French troops took up his position in the village.

“According to probable reports which reached me on the same day as the landing of his troops at Aland, the enemy began the assault upon the tower C, but was repulsed with loss. He then began to construct his batteries and to bring his guns to the siege by means of rollers placed in a particular manner. Subsequently, in the night between the 8th and 9th of August, he opened a fire upon the tower, endeavouring at the same time to erect a new battery nearer to it, but what he had succeeded in raising during the night was destroyed at daybreak by our balls. Eventually, having discovered an appropriate position, where he was sheltered, the enemy constructed a battery, and when it was finished he fired day and night upon both sides of the tower, with a view to make a breach, so that it was seriously and dangerously damaged in every part. Upon this the garrison which defended it, foreseeing probably the impossibility of holding out much longer, decided upon returning to the principal fort, but was pre-

vented by the enemy, who unexpectedly made an assault upon it, surrounded it, and cut off all retreat. Both officers and soldiers (as I have heard) were desirous of forcing a passage at the point of the bayonet, but they could not overcome the advantage of superior numbers, and were forced to surrender. A few hours afterwards the tower, which was much shaken, tumbled to pieces. Among its officers, the Artillery Captain de Tesche was wounded with a bayonet in the leg, and Ensign de Bolfras, of the battalion of grenadier guards, received injury on the shoulder from a blow with a sword.

"After the capture of the tower C, the enemy raised batteries against the tower U, the bombardment of which was commenced on the 12th of August, and was continued without intermission during three days. That tower, in which two large breaches were made by the balls, without reckoning the other damage done to its interior by shells, having only the means of firing four times more, was at length forced to capitulate.

"I am not aware of the cause of the reduction of the tower B. I only know that the garrison capitulated on the 15th of August, at eleven o'clock in the evening.

"I have not received precise information as to the reasons for the capitulation of the principal fort, but the following are the reports which I have collected upon the subject, the authenticity of which, however, I do not guarantee. While the French troops bombarded the towers, the Anglo-French fleet in the bay of Lumpar kept up an irresistible fire against the principal fort, doing serious injury to its interior, overthrowing the roofs and chimneys, and destroying the embrasures. The garrison of the fort surrendered on the 16th of August. It is said that the cause of this surrender was that, after having lost the tower, it was no longer possible for it to repulse simultaneously the attacks by land and by sea, and that it was destitute of the means of silencing the enemy's powerful artillery. Before the reduction of the principal fort, its garrison was so exhausted by the watches and the incessant operations it had effected during several days, that it was not in a condition either for further action, or for offering a longer resistance. It is said that on our side the number of killed was fifty-three, and that of the wounded eighty-six, and that the enemy lost from 500 to 600 men.\* The garrisons of the principal fort and of the three towers were embarked in Anglo-French vessels. Such of the prisoners as were to be sent to England were dispatched on the 17th of August, and the others, among whom were General Bodisco and his wife, were sent to France on the 18th of August. It was also reported that

\* This extravagant statement will give a good idea of Russian exaggeration.

with the consent of the enemy's chief officers, the wives of some of our officers have accompanied their husbands."

There was a kind of poetical justice in the destruction of the fortress of Bomarsund, as it was not only built by the Emperor Nicholas, but actually constructed from a plan of his own, formed before he wore the imperial crown. His object was to erect an impregnable fortress, which should command the narrowest strait in the Aland Archipelago that admits of navigation at all by vessels of any size. To accomplish this, the massive walls of Bomarsund were raised; Bomarsund signifying a bolt or bar. When the fortress was completed, it was discovered that there was an error in the design, as the works were easily assailable from the land side, and commanded by the neighbouring heights. At the time of the capture other fortifications were (as we have stated) in progress to defend the first. So anxious had the czar been for their completion, that the work was carried on up to the last moment that was found practicable. The artisans seem actually to have left their labour with precipitate fear, on beholding the landing of the allies. The chisel of the mason, and the trowel and mallet of the bricklayer stood idly at the work that was never to be resumed. The ground bore the impression of recent footsteps; the keystone of a bomb-proof granite vault was found half sunk into its bed; and on one pile of bricks some poor labourer had left his wallet, containing a piece of black bread and his empty *schnapps* bottle.

We will conclude this chapter with the following reflections from a French print, the *Constitutionnel*, upon the evils Russia has drawn down upon herself by the aggressive policy of the czar:—

"Russia, weakened in her moral authority, has, in addition, wasted her resources, both in money and men. She was proud of her granite fortresses: the capture of Bomarsund has proved that the ramparts which were said to be indestructible fall in three days. She was proud of her fleets; and her fleets, hidden in her fortified ports, expiate, by the humiliation of their inertness, the surprise of Sinope. She spoke loudly of the terrible power of her army, and the *prestige* of her arms has vanished. She boasted of being the only nation which was not in straitened circumstances, and it is proved that she is succumbing under the burden of a debt of five milliards, at this very moment



liable to be called for; that, since the war began, the silver rouble has lost upwards of the fourth of its value; that the paper rouble, which was formerly equal in value to the silver one, has fallen from four to one franc; that, being forced to give up the advantages of a free loan, Russia has been obliged to have recourse to a forced one, disguised under the name of voluntary contributions; that she is condemned to seek a perilous expedient in an issue, more and more extensive, of paper money; and that she is incapable of furnishing money for a second or third campaign. These truths appear clearly from a remarkable work by M. Léon Faucher, which shows in what a desperate situation are the finances of Russia. Besides, let any one think of the enormity of the sacrifices that the war is inflicting on landed property. It may be calculated that the czar, in order to complete his armies, must have raised 250,000 men; but, as in Russia fifty per cent. of the new recruits are lost before they reach their colours, the total levy must have been 500,000 men. The price of a serf is estimated at from 1,200 to 1,500 francs; so that a tax of

800,000,000 francs has been in that way levied on the landed proprietors. Mark further, that these landed proprietors cannot sell their flax, tallow, leather, and hemp as formerly, and then calculate what immense losses they must have sustained; and as they are not rich, after all, but on condition of feeding their peasants when these latter cannot support themselves, you can comprehend what frightful sufferings must already weigh on the Museovite populations. To the ery of the national pride, deeply wounded, will be added through that vast empire the clamours of misery and hunger. Such are the deplorable fruits of the czar's policy. In place of applying all his attention to ameliorate the situation of his people, to cement together the various incoherent parts of his states, and to develop commerce and agriculture—in place of regenerating the national church, and removing the leprosy of serfdom, the Emperor Nicholas has thought fit to brave justice and to violate the faith of treaties. He is severely punished for his acts by the moral decadence of his country, by the radical impotence of his efforts, and by the notoriety of his failure."

### CHAPTER XIII.

NICHOLAS ENCOURAGES HIS TROOPS; OMAR PASHA AT BUCHAREST; REPLY OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS TO THE NOTES OF AUSTRIA AND THE WESTERN POWERS; THE CHOLERA AT VARNA; PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO HIS SUFFERING TROOPS; FRATERNISATION OF PRINCES AT BOULOGNE.

PREPARATIONS for an attack upon the Crimea were being carried forward in earnest in the allied army at Varna and in the allied fleets at Baltchik. Interminable trains of vehicles, laden with supplies and military stores, were constantly proceeding to the former place; and at length, it was announced that an army of 58,000 men, consisting of English, French, and Turks, had actually embarked. Marshal St. Arnaud had issued an order, stating that Sebastopol would be taken and held as a guarantee of peace.

The Emperor Nicholas, threatened on all sides, evidently began to fear that the spirit of his troops would fail them, and on the 13th of August the following order of the day was read to the soldiers assembled at

Odessa. This, with an extra allowance of *schnapps* and bread, it was trusted would nerve them to fresh efforts against the foe:—"His majesty the czar has, in his high wisdom, ordered the troops which were in Moldavia and Wallachia, to retire from those provinces, and to march where the danger is more imminent. An ally of many years' standing, undertakes for the time being, to occupy the principalities, and to protect them against the invasion of the Turks. You will have to do with a new enemy, who has the impious intention to attack us in our own dominions. This enemy was already beaten and conquered by our valiant fathers. His majesty expects the same from you. By your valour and discipline you will overcome the enemy.

The new foe is more skilful, more courageous, and better led than the Turks; but your courage and strength will enable you to vanquish him as our fathers often did. Think on our struggle with these French during the glorious year 1812, when the Heavenly Father armed his hosts against godless and impious men who perished miserably in the snow."

We left Omar Pasha (page 151) advancing with his victorious troops upon Bucharest. He entered the capital of Wallachia on the 22nd of August, and was received with enthusiastic excitement. The metropolitan, the ministers, and other high functionaries of the state, attended by a brilliant staff, went forth to meet him, and then followed in his train. The triumphant pasha was seated in an open carriage, which in a little while was actually filled with flowers, the offerings of the fairer portion of the spectators, who threw them into it from the windows. His retinue may truly be described as more than princely, for it consisted of 10,000 soldiers, including the Wallachian militia. Amongst them were mingled a singular variety of costumes. Officers of cavalry, infantry, staff, artillery, and engineers, belonging to the English, French, Turkish, Sardinian, and Wallachian armies, were followed by crowds of civilians in carriages and on horseback. Omar went in procession through the principal streets, and then took up his quarters in a country-house about a mile outside the city. The dispirited Russians had retired across the Pruth; and fighting in the border provinces was over for at least that year. There was nothing to prevent Omar Pasha from resting in his country-house and honourably enjoying the laurels he had so bravely won.

The conditions of peace which were forwarded to St. Petersburg by the Austrian court and the Western Powers, were rejected by the czar, as might have been foreseen. We extract the following from the reply of Count Nesselrode, as containing the substance of his whole despatch:—"The conditions required by the Western Powers are unacceptable in respect to their substance (*teneur*), as well as in form, principally because that, according to the avowal of the French government itself, what they exact with the ostensible purpose of maintaining the European equilibrium, is nothing less than the destruction of the Russian marine and the power of Russia in the Black Sea.

"Austria, in recommending these con-

ditions, has added that the Western Powers have still reserved the right to make others, which renders it perfectly useless to submit them to a detailed examination. Besides, even if they should not be changed, their acceptance would lead it to be supposed that Russia is reduced by war to the last degree of exhaustion. Although the emperor has adhered to the principles enunciated in the protocol of Vienna, he cannot enlarge the meaning of it as much as others have done, because the immense sacrifices which Russia has made in the interests of Austria and Prussia would remain without any compensation. In the place of finding in those concessions a motive for redeeming those obligations, Austria has drawn closer its alliance with the enemies of Russia.

"Consequently, the emperor infinitely regrets that he has not been able to accept the last overtures made by Austria. He considers that he has made every concession compatible with the honour of Russia; and, as he has not withdrawn any of these advantages, it only remains for him to do the same as his enemies—that is, to try the eventualities of war, in order to arrive at some solid basis of negotiations for peace.

"The emperor has directed his general-in-chief to repass the Pruth with his troops from strategic motives, and Russia will keep herself upon the defensive within her frontiers, until more equitable conditions are offered to her. The emperor, on his side, will avoid increasing the complications of the war, but he will repel with the greatest energy all attacks against him, from whatever quarter they may proceed."

While the French and English cannon were beating down the massive walls of Bomarsund, the dreaded cholera was smiting its victims with an unsparing and regardless hand. All were alike to it—Christian or Mussulman, English or French, Turk or Russian, sickened and perished beneath the blast of its pestilent breath. It continued its ravages in the allied fleets, at Constantinople, at Gallipoli; but chiefly at Varna. A correspondent, writing from the latter place, on the 9th of August, said:—"Up to the present date the British army has lost about 260 men from this fatal disease. Of these deaths about 100 were in the light division. Since the movement of our camp out to Monastir the division has become healthier. Our troops are, at present, losing thirty men a-day. The French losses from cholera are frightful. The disease is not much on the



wane among them; and there are divisions in which they die at the rate of seventy and eighty a-day. In the French general hospital, since the 14th of July, 720 men have died of cholera; and only seventy-eight have been sent out cured."

The hospital for the sick had been a Turkish barrack, and was a mouldering, rotten, and offensive-smelling place. The French at length became so persuaded of its unhealthiness, that they preferred removing their sick to the open field. It was found that men who were sent there with fevers or other sickness were frequently seized with the worst form of cholera, and perished in spite of the most assiduous efforts to save them. The writer of the letter above quoted, thus describes a visit he paid to the hospital at midnight, in order to obtain some medicine for a friend who had been taken ill:—"Along two sides of the hospital was drawn up a long train of araba carts, and by the moonlight I could see that some of them were filled with sick soldiers. I counted thirty-five carts, with three or four men in each. These were sick French soldiers sent in from the camps, and waiting till room could be found for them in the hospital. A number of soldiers were sitting down by the roadside, and here and there the moonbeams flashed brightly off their piled arms. The men were silent; not a song; not a laugh! A gloom, which never had I seen before among the French troops, reigned amid those groups of grey-coated men; and the quiet that prevailed was broken only now and then by the moans and cries of pain of the poor sufferers in the carts. Observing that about fifteen arabas were drawn up without any occupants, I asked a *sous-officier* for what purpose they were required. His answer, sullen and short, was:—"Pour les morts—pour les Français décédés, monsieur." The white walls of the fatal hospital looked clean and neat, as they towered above the lengthened *cortège* of the dead which lay in deep shadow at its base; but the murmurings of sickness and the groans of the dying stole out on the night air through the long lines of latticed windows. As I turned away and spurred under the gateway which leads to the English quarter, I encountered a burial party escorting the bodies of six of our own poor fellows to their last resting-place, outside the walls by the sea-beach of Varna."

It was under these sad circumstances that the French emperor addressed the following

proclamation to his suffering troops. He could not erect a barrier against the ravages of disease, and exorcise the pestilence from the sick and troubled air; but he could give directions that his poor soldiers and sailors should receive every attention that surrounding circumstances would admit, and also speak to them words of sympathy, consolation, and hope. This it will be seen he did:—

"Soldiers and Sailors of the Army of the East!—You have not fought, but already you have obtained a signal success. Your presence and that of the English troops have sufficed to compel the enemy to recross the Danube, and the Russian vessels remain ingloriously in their ports. You have not yet fought, and already you have struggled courageously against death. A scourge, fatal though transitory, has not arrested your ardour. France and the sovereign whom she has chosen cannot witness without deep emotion, or without making every effort to give assistance to such energy and such sacrifices.

"The first consul said, in 1797, in a proclamation to his army:—'The first quality required in a soldier is the power of supporting fatigues and privations. Courage is only a secondary one.' The first you are now displaying. Who can deny you the possession of the second? Therefore it is that your enemies, disseminated from Finland to the Caucasus, are seeking anxiously to discover the point upon which France and England will direct their attacks, which they foresee will be decisive; for right, justice, and warlike inspiration are on our side.

"Already Bomarsund and 2,000 prisoners have just fallen into our power. Soldiers! you will follow the example of the army of Egypt. The conquerors of the Pyramids and Mount-Tabor had, like you, to contend against warlike soldiers and against disease; but, in spite of pestilence and the efforts of three armies, they returned with honour to their country. Soldiers! have confidence in your general-in-chief and in me. I am watching over you, and I hope, with the assistance of God, soon to see a diminution of your sufferings and an increase of your glory.

"Soldiers! farewell, till we meet again.

"NAPOLEON."

The greatest part of the Russian troops had retired from the Dobrudscha, which, without doubt, was the best thing they could

do, as sickness prevailed amongst them to an alarming extent. General Canrobert, probably ashamed of the prolonged inaction of his troops, led an expedition to Kostendje on the 1st of August. It soon turned out to be an unfortunate movement; sickness rioted amongst his soldiers, and he lost nearly 2,000 men in that sterile district. His troops attacked some Cossacks, and carried off two-and-twenty prisoners; but, finding it useless to struggle or fight against the blows of that invisible enemy, disease, the French were compelled to retire. In reference to the losses of the allies by the fatal sickness that prevailed, it was pertinently asked, "What are we gaining by a delay which is more deadly than battles? and why do we hesitate between the enemy and the camp, when the latter is the more formidable of the two?"

As soon as the cholera was on the decline at Varna, that unfortunate place was subject to another visitation: a fearful fire broke out there on the night of Thursday, the 10th of August, and utterly destroyed more than a quarter of the town. Its cause was enveloped in mystery; but it is generally supposed to have been the work of incendiary Greeks. It broke out near the French commissariat stores, a great portion of which were destroyed. The officers having broached some casks of spirits, a Greek was seen to set fire to the inflammable liquor as it ran down the streets. The villain instantly received his punishment, for he was cloven to the chin by a French officer, and fell a corpse into the burning stream. It is reported that other incendiaries were shot on the spot by the French soldiers. The energy of the French and English troops probably saved the town from being totally destroyed, for a brisk wind blew, and spread the roaring flames from house to house through the wooden streets. For ten hours did those bold men labour unremittingly before the fire was subdued. The scene was frightful; the cries of the inhabitants, the screams of women and children, and the clamour of droves of dogs and startled horses, all helped to make the din and confusion perfectly terrific.

The losses occasioned by the conflagration were of a very serious character, and many of the inhabitants were reduced to destitution by the destruction of their houses and the stoppage of their trade in supplying the wants of the soldiers. Mr. Grace, an extensive merchant of Galata, had his magazine pulled down by the French soldiers, in order

to arrest the progress of the flames. The contents were carried off by the mob, who were very active in availing themselves of every opportunity for plunder. The destruction of biscuit, hay, and military stores was enormous. Shoes, also, to the number of 19,000 pairs, were burnt; and an immense quantity of cavalry sabres were found amid the ruins, fused into the most fantastic shapes. Amidst this scene of destruction the townspeople and military had yet some cause for congratulation. The powder magazines of both French and English escaped explosion as by a miracle, for burning fragments of the houses fell frequently upon and near them. A military cordon was afterwards placed around them. Other accounts state that some Greeks were seen throwing lighted matches among the houses during the progress of the fire, and that they were bayoneted by the troops. Some, on the other hand, believe the conflagration to have been the result of accident, and think that the money-making Greeks of Varna were as unlikely to have risked the destruction of their own property, as the tradesmen of London would have been.

After the fire at Varna the cholera began to abate; and it seemed as if the flames had purified the air. Doubtless they had done much towards clearing away many foul sources of corruption. Still it raged with terrible virulence in the fleets at Baltschik, and probably delayed the expedition to the Crimea. Here, again, the French were the greatest victims. The *Friedland* and *Montebello* suffered with particular severity, upwards of one hundred having perished by the violence of the pestilence in four-and-twenty hours! No bravery could prevent the sailors from feeling a great amount of depression from such an awful visitation as this. Those who showed briskness and cheerfulness when the bullets of an enemy whistled past their heads, or rent the rigging above them into ribbons, turned pale in contemplating the dreadful activity of their mysterious, invisible, and merciless foe. They were described as "supping full with horrors," and listening greedily to tales of death, which served but to weaken and terrify them.

The correspondent of the *Times*, writing on the 19th of August from Varna, gives the following particulars on this dark subject:—"I must appease the anxiety of the public by the happy assurance that the cholera is abating in the army, and that its worst seems to have passed over the



fleet. The news from the latter has been melancholy. Towards the close of last week the cholera assumed such an alarming character, that both admirals (French and English) resolved to leave their anchorage at Baltschik, and stand out to sea for a cruise. It is almost a pity that the ships were left there so long. On Wednesday morning the *Caradoc*, Lieutenant Deriman, which left Constantinople with the mails for the fleet and army the previous evening, came up with the English fleet, under Admiral Dundas. The *Caradoc* was boarded by a boat from the *Britannia*, and the officer who came on board communicated the appalling intelligence that the flag-ship had lost seventy men since she left Baltschik, and that she had buried ten men that morning. Upwards of 100 men were on the sick-list at that time. Some of the other ships had lost several men, but not in the same proportion. The fact is, that the admiral's ship is over-crowded with supernumeraries. By the last accounts the *Britannia* was healthier, but she had lost altogether eighty-six men by cholera. The British fleet was cruising in two lines, about twenty-five miles south-east of Varna, on the morning of the 16th. The ships were the *Britannia*,\* the *Albion*,\* the *London*, the *Trafalgar*, the *Queen*, *Furious*,\* the *Diamond* (frigate), *Rodney*, *Tribune*, *Vengeance*, and two steamers. Later in the day, the French fleet was observed cruising east of Varna about twenty miles. The accounts from these ships were most depressing; but the disease has now been deprived somewhat of its virulence. The *Ville de Paris* has lost more than 200 men. The *Montebello*, which is in Varna harbour, has lost about the same number.

"It has been found, indeed, that the plan of wide open encampments has answered in checking disease. The British army is now scattered broad-cast all over the country, from Monastir to Varna, a distance of twenty-six or twenty-seven miles. The light division is nominally encamped at Monastir, but the regiments composing it are wide apart from each other, and the division stretches almost from Pravadi to the plains above Monastir. The cavalry brigade, under Lord Cardigan, is encamped close to Kosladschi. Sir De L. Evans's division, which has been tolerably healthy in comparison with Sir George

\* Those marked as above have suffered most from cholera.

Brown's and the Duke of Cambridge's divisions, extends over a large plateau, encamped regiment by regiment, between Aladyn and Devno. The duke's division has marched in from Aladyn, and is now encamped towards the south-western side of the bay. It appears, that notwithstanding the exquisite beauty of the country around Aladyn, it is a hot-bed of fever and dysentery. The same is true of Devno, which is called by the Turks 'the Valley of Death;' and had we consulted the natives ere we pitched our camps, we assuredly should never have gone either to Aladyn or Devno, notwithstanding the charms of their position and the temptations offered by the abundant supply of water and by the adjacent woods.

"No blame, perhaps, is to be attached to any one for neglecting to ascertain whether these great natural advantages were counterbalanced by any peculiar sanitary evils. Whoever gazed on these rich meadows, stretching for long miles away, and bordered by heights on which the dense forests struggled, all but in vain, to pierce the masses of wild vine, clematis, dwarf acacia, and many-coloured brushwoods—on the verdant hill-sides, and on the dancing waters of lake and stream below, lighted up by the golden rays of a Bulgarian summer's sun—might well think that no English glade or hill-top could well be healthier or better suited for the residence of man. But these meadows nurture the fever, the ague, dysentery, and pestilence in their bosom—the lake and the stream exhale death; and at night fat unctuous vapours rise up fold after fold from the valleys, and creep up in the dark, and steal into the tent of the sleeper, and wrap him in their deadly embrace. So completely exhausted on last Thursday was the brigade of guards, these 3,000 of the flower of England, that they had to make two marches in order to get over the distance from Aladyn to Varna, which is not more than (not so much, many people say, as) ten miles. But that is not all. Their packs were carried for them. Just think of this, good people of England, who are sitting anxiously in your homes, day after day, expecting every morning to gladden your eyes with the sight of the announcement, in large type, of 'Fall of Sebastopol,' your guards, your *corps d'élite*, the pride of your hearts, the delight of your eyes, these Anakims, whose stature, strength, and massive bulk you exhibit to

kingly visitors as no inapt symbols of your nation, have been so reduced by sickness, disease, and a depressing climate, that it was judged inexpedient to allow them to carry their own packs, or to permit them to march more than five miles a-day, even though these packs were carried for them! Think of this, and then judge whether these men are fit, in their present state, to go to Sebastopol, or to attempt any great operation of war.

"The highland brigade is in better condition; but even the three noble regiments which compose it are far from being in good health, or in the spirits in which they set out for Varna. The duke's division has lost 160 men; of these nearly 100 belonged to the guards. In the brigade of guards there were, before the march to Varna, upwards of 600 men sick. The light division has lost 110 or 112 men. Sir De L. Evans has lost 100 men or thereabouts. The little cavalry force has been sadly reduced by death, and the third (Sir R. England's) division, which has been encamped to the north-west of Varna, close outside the town, has lost upwards of 100 men also; the 50th regiment, who were much worked, being particularly cut up. The ambulance corps has been completely crippled by the death of the drivers and men belonging to it; and the medical officers have been called upon to make a special report on the mortality among them. I believe the fact to be, there was rather an unhappy selection of men, and that many of them were old soldiers, rather addicted to free living and spirits; and in Bulgaria drunkenness is death. Sir R. England's division has been moved round the bay, and is now loosely encamped near Lord Lucan's cavalry, on the heights extending from the Fountain to Galata Bournon, and looking across the bay towards Varna. We have still some few men of our army encamped on the north-east side of the town, on the plains outside the walls.

"The French have their 'cholera camp' between Chatel Tepch and Medjidji-tahi, about two miles from the town. It is only too extensive and too well filled. Horrors occur here every day which are shocking to think of. Walking by the beach, one sees some straw sticking up through the sand, and scraping it away with his stick, he is horrified at bringing to light the face of a corpse, which has been deposited there, with a wisp of straw around it, a prey to dogs and vultures. Dead bodies rise up from the

bottom in the harbour, and bob grimly around in the water, or float in from sea, and drift past the sickened gazers on board the ships—all buoyant, bolt upright, and hideous in the sun. On Friday, the body of a French soldier, who had been murdered (for his neckerchief was twisted round the neck so as to produce strangulation, and the forehead was laid open by a ghastly wound which cleft the skull to the brain), came alongside the *Caradoc* in harbour, and was with difficulty sunk again. What fond parent or anxious sweetheart, in some pleasant homestead of La Belle France, may now be expecting him and wondering at his silence? Will they ever hear of that poor fellow's fate? A boat's crew go on shore to put a few stones together as a sort of landing-place on the sand; they move a stone, and underneath is a festering corpse again. But there is no use in accumulating the details of scenes like these, which must ever be the terrible attendants on war and pestilence."

Let us change the scene: we are glad that we can do so to one that the philanthropic mind will dwell upon with pleasure. Let us turn our attention to one of those brilliant episodes of history in which nations are drawn closer to each other, and the interests of good-will and brotherhood amongst men promoted. It redeems war from detestation to know that it sometimes gives rise to such events.

We allude to the fraternisation of princes at Boulogne, which occurred in the month of September. Enormous military preparations had been made in France, and an immense army, under the title of the Camp of the North, was stationed along the coast from Boulogne to St. Omer. The Emperor Napoleon announced his intention of spending nearly the whole of September at the former place, where he was to be visited by the King of Belgium, and the husband of the sovereign of Great Britain, both of whom had been invited to witness a series of grand military manœuvres by the French troops. As the latter were commanded by the emperor, it was justly supposed that the presence of such distinguished visitors would be regarded not only as a compliment to the French monarch, but would also have a healthy influence upon the politics of Europe, by showing what strong sympathies were evinced by the people of France, England, and Belgium in the course pursued by the great Western Powers.



On Saturday, the 2nd of September, the Emperor of the French arrived, at noon, at Calais, from Boulogne, in order to meet and welcome the King of the Belgians. He proceeded at once to Dessin's hotel, which had been engaged for the occasion. Shortly afterwards he received a deputation of *poissardes*, who, clad in pretty chintz dresses and black linsey-woolsey petticoats, testified their loyalty by presenting the emperor with a fine dish of fish. After them the peasant-women were admitted to an interview with their sovereign, and offered for his acceptance a magnificent *bouquet*. A little before two o'clock the King of the Belgians arrived, escorted by a detachment of cuirassiers, and welcomed by a salute of artillery. He was accompanied by his eldest son, the Duke de Brabant, and was immediately conducted by the authorities of the town, and amid the cheers of the people, to Dessin's hotel. The emperor met his royal visitor in the courtyard, when both sovereigns bowed, and Leopold exclaimed: "I am charmed to make your acquaintance. Allow me to introduce to you my son, the Duke de Brabant." Louis responded with a few kindly words, and took the king and the duke into his private apartment, where they remained together for about three-quarters of an hour.

The next morning (Sunday) they proceeded in an open carriage to Boulogne, escorted by a detachment of the imperial guards, and halted at the emperor's hotel at Capecure. A grand military mass was to have been solemnised at the camp, and the tricolour fluttered over the temporary chapel in which the service of the day was to be performed. The little building resembled a rustic lodge, and in the centre of it stood the altar, decorated with flowers, and furnished with the silver candlesticks and other plate used in the Roman catholic ritual. The signal of assembling was given by the roll of drums and the shrill braying of trumpets, and immediately immense bodies of men, the contingents from the second and third camps, came marching over the hills. The heat, however, was so great, that the emperor and his royal guests did not care to brave it, and the ceremony proceeded without them. In the evening the following proclamation, dated the previous day, was issued by the emperor to his troops:—

"Soldiers!—In coming to take the command of that army of the north, a division of which has so recently distinguished itself

in the Baltic, I ought already to address you in the language of praise; for you have now for two months gaily supported the fatigues and privations inseparable from a similar agglomeration of troops.

"The formation of camps is the best apprenticeship to war, because it is the faithful image of war; but it will not profit all if the reasons of the movements to be executed are not brought within the comprehension of every soldier.

"A numerous army is obliged to divide itself in order to subsist, so that it may not exhaust the resources of a country; and yet it ought to be able to reunite itself promptly on the field of battle. Here is one of the first difficulties of a great concourse of troops. 'Every army,' said the emperor, 'that cannot reunite itself in twenty-four hours, upon a given point, is an army badly placed.'

"Ours occupies a triangle, of which St. Omer is the apex, and of which the base extends itself from Ambleteuse to Montreuil. This triangle has a base of eight leagues upon twelve of height, and all the troops can be concentrated in twenty-four hours upon any point of the triangle whatsoever. These movements can be effected with facility, if the soldier is accustomed to march—if he carries with ease his provisions and ammunition—if each *chef de corps* maintains on the march the severest discipline—if the different columns which direct themselves by different routes have well reconnoitred the ground, and never cease to maintain a communication with each other—in fine, if each army does not obstruct the march of the other, notwithstanding the immense hindrance of a great number of horses and vehicles. The troops once arrived at the place indicated, it is necessary that they should understand each other, that they should protect themselves by a military position, and bivouac.

"This is what you are about to be called upon to put in practice. Without at present speaking of the engagements and manœuvres of military tactics, you see how all is linked together in the art of war, and how much the most simple detail must contribute to the general success.

"Soldiers! the experienced chiefs whom I have placed at your head, and the devotion which animates you, will render the command of the army of the north easy to me. You will be worthy of my confidence, and, if circumstances should exact it, you will

be ready to respond to the appeal of our country.

"NAPOLEON.

"Boulogne, Sept. 2."

The King of the Belgians and his son embarked on Sunday evening, and returned home, in consequence of the presence of the former being required in his own dominions by urgent business. They were accompanied to the steam-boat by the emperor, and their departure caused much regret to the people and the English visitors of Boulogne, who were estimated at 15,000.

The following day (Monday) the King of Portugal, accompanied by his brother, the Duke of Oporto, arrived at Boulogne by special train from Paris. The emperor received his visitors in the vestibule of the hotel, and escorted them to the apartments prepared for their reception. In the afternoon the illustrious party drove to the camp at Houvult, to inspect the troops. On their arrival there, a great body of troops turned out, and marched past the royal carriages in slow and quick time. The word of command, loud and wild as an Arab war-cry, might be heard all along the line, and the officers galloped up and down in that apparently frantic excitement which is peculiar to the French. The young King of Portugal was delighted with the grand spectacle around him, which revealed the might and majesty of France, and was an earnest of the gigantic force the allied powers could raise to resist oppression. As the royal party drove along the line, they were received by shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* the officers of the various regiments giving their soldiers the signal when to raise their sturdy voices. Napoleon was also received with enthusiasm by the spectators, chiefly English, whom he repaid by repeated smiles and bows. The inspection over, the royal party alighted from their carriages, and the emperor took the King of Portugal, first into the tent of a captain, and then into that of a common soldier; in both of which he explained the contrivances adopted for the comfort of the troops. This mark of condescension was received by the soldiers with great delight, and as the royal party re-entered the carriages, the air rang with acclamations. Amongst the Englishmen present were Lord Ranelagh and Colonel Knox, with whom the emperor conversed freely. Indeed, his whole demeanour was extremely frank and winning; and at times, when the *gens d'armes* tried to keep back

the people, he said: "Let them come in and stand where they please." Much to the surprise and disappointment of the good folks of Boulogne, the young King of Portugal left the same day that he arrived, and proceeded by the railway to Brussels, amid the thunders of a military salute.

With the morning of the next day (the 5th) came the consort of the Queen of England. The weather was brilliant; the sky cloudless; and the whole population of Boulogne seemed to have poured forth to welcome Prince Albert to the town. About half-past ten the royal yacht, *Victoria and Albert*, with the tricolour floating at the fore, and the royal standard at the main, was seen rounding the point on the Capeacre side of the harbour. She was followed by the *Black Eagle* and the *Vivid*, both with colours dressed. The emperor, attended by a group of officers and aides-de-camp, left his hotel, and went down to the quay to receive his illustrious visitor.

As the royal yacht entered the harbour, she was received with the roar of artillery and the enthusiastic shouts of the dense masses of spectators. The prince bowed repeatedly to the multitudes; and seeing the emperor standing a little in advance of his staff, a glance of recognition passed between them, and they simultaneously raised their hats, and exchanged several bows. As the *Victoria and Albert* came alongside, a carpeted gangway was thrown on board, and Prince Albert ran briskly ashore, and raising his hat, advanced to the emperor. The latter shook hands with the prince very warmly, and addressed several friendly expressions to him. On approaching the open carriage which brought the emperor to the quay, a difficulty arose as to who first should enter it. Napoleon insisted that his guest should do so; but the prince hesitated to take precedence of the emperor. The latter, however, would not yield, and the prince entered the carriage first, which soon after drove slowly off, escorted by the cent-gardes, whose brilliant uniforms, consisting of helmet and cuirass, light blue coats, jack-boots, and leather breeches, added to the gaiety of the scene. From the quay to the emperor's hotel at Capeacre, the streets were densely crowded, and every window was well filled with fashionably-dressed women, who gave an enthusiastic welcome to the distinguished visitor. It is said the people seemed extremely gratified, but too intent on seeing the prince to cheer



as a thoroughly English crowd would have done.

At four o'clock the emperor and the prince mounted on horseback, and, attended by their suites, proceeded to the camps at Ambletuse, Wimereux, and Houvault. The princes rode side by side, followed at a short distance by the leading personages of their staffs, the troops falling into line with astonishing rapidity as the royal *cortège* approached. Leaving the camp near the column, the royal party rode through the streets, amidst the enthusiastic congratulations of the people, and returned to the imperial hotel.

The next day (Wednesday), September the 6th, a grand military review took place at the camp of Helfaut, in honour of Prince Albert. The emperor and his distinguished visitor arrived on the ground at eleven in the morning. After taking some refreshment they visited the huts, and admired the tasteful decorations, the sculpture, and the little gardens with which the soldiers had adorned the camp. The royal party then mounted their horses and rode slowly to the Bruyères, a magnificent plateau overlooking the town and churches of St. Omer. The number of soldiers assembled amounted to 25,000. The emperor and the prince, on arriving on the field, were saluted by a discharge of twenty-one guns, fired from one of the batteries. The emperor was attired in his usual costume, the full uniform of a lieutenant-general of division, and rode his favourite chesnut charger. The prince wore the cocked hat and blue undress coat of a field-marshal, with the star of the order of the garter. They first rode together along the front line of infantry, and were saluted by the soldiers lowering the ensigns as they proceeded. The troops afterwards slowly defiled before them, and the cavalry executed some dashing charges. The prince regarded them with a scrutinising eye, and the emperor apparently directed his attention to various points in connexion with the equipment and training of the various arms of the service.

The review over, the prince rode forward, and, addressing the officers in French, expressed the gratification he had derived from witnessing the admirably-executed evolutions which had been gone through, and his warm approval of the soldierlike appearance and military bearing of the men.

He added, with peculiar emphasis, that it was his earnest hope that the *entente cordiale*, so auspiciously exhibited that day, would long continue to exist between the two countries of France and Great Britain. This brief address gave much pleasure to the emperor, who handed his royal highness into the carriage, and they both returned to Boulogne.

The Thursday was passed by the emperor and prince in mutual civilities, and in the evening a grand ball was given at the Tintelleries, and attended by many thousands of persons, both French and English. But the great event occurred on Friday. It was the representation of a battle upon the line of road between Boulogne and Calais, in which the actors were 25,000 French soldiers, one half of whom were commanded by the emperor in person, and the other by General de Schramm. The latter was supposed to threaten Boulogne from the direction of Calais, while the former took up a position to resist any further advance of the supposed enemy.

The fight opened with the artillery on both sides, which was kept up heavily for some time. After an interval, the long lines of Schramm's corps, drawn up upon the opposite height, broke into columns, and slowly fell back towards Calais. The emperor, directing his attack continuously from his right, and pressing forward with his cavalry, succeeded in turning his opponent's left. General de Schramm thereupon changed his front, so as to face this flank movement, still, however, retreating. The manœuvres extended over a distance of three or four miles, and of course embraced an infinite number of details into which it is impossible to enter. The sham fight terminated on the fine open slope of a height four miles distant from the point at which it had commenced. Schramm's corps holding the ridge, made a last stand against their opponents, who, steadily debouching from the woods below, at length drove them from their position. At half-past eleven it was all over, and the emperor conducted his illustrious guest to breakfast.

The departure of Prince Albert took place at eleven o'clock at night, under circumstances of a most brilliant and picturesque character. The emperor saw him on board, and after a cordial farewell, the *Victoria and Albert* steamed away towards Portsmouth, and was soon lost in the darkness.

## CHAPTER XIV.

INSURRECTION OF THE GREEK SUBJECTS OF THE SULTAN; EXPULSION OF THE GREEKS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE; TURKISH DEFENCE OF THIS MEASURE, AND GREEK APPEAL AGAINST IT; EXCESSES OF THE INSURGENTS; INTERFERENCE OF GENERAL BARAGUAY D'HILLIERS ON BEHALF OF THE GREEK CATHOLICS, AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIM AND THE PORTE; GREEK VIEW OF THE INSURRECTION; MONTE-NEGRO AND ITS PEOPLE; PRINCE DANIEL CALLS ON HIS SUBJECTS TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE TURKS; FRENCH AND ENGLISH FORCES OCCUPY THE PIRÆUS; SUBMISSION OF KING OTHO; DECLINE OF THE INSURRECTION.

To prevent confusion, we have carried the account of the war in the principalities and in the Baltic Sea up to the period when Bomarsund was destroyed, without noticing the progress of the insurrection among the Greek subjects of the sultan, and the war in Asia. We must now retrace our steps, and resume these interesting narrations from the points at which we left them. And first, of the insurrection of the Greeks in the Turkish provinces of Albania, Macedonia, and Thessaly, to which we shall devote this chapter. By referring to the sixth chapter of this work, from page 73 to page 77, the reader will see the opening of the subject to which we now return.

We have there shown, that the Greek subjects of the Porte, instigated by Russian agents and Russian gold, had chosen the moment of Turkey's danger to cast off her yoke and gratify their long-cherished hatred against her government and religion: that King Otho and the independent Greeks had at first secretly, and afterwards openly, fomented the insurrection,—which proceeded, in reality, rather from Athens than from the Christian inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces: that England and France had assisted the Porte to suppress the insurrection; because it was ill-timed, and threatened still further to prolong the war, and disturb the tranquillity of Europe, by dividing the power of Turkey and strengthening the hands of the Emperor of Russia: and finally, that diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey were broken off, and their respective ambassadors recalled. The last-named event took place in the month of March, 1854, much to the regret of all humane and prudent men, who severely blamed the Greek government for fostering insurrection in a neighbouring state at a time when the safety, if not the existence, of that state was threatened by the common foe of Europe, of progress, and of liberty.

After diplomatic relations had been broken off between Greece and Turkey, the Porte decided on a natural but extremely rigorous measure. It determined on the expulsion from Constantinople, within fifteen days, of all Greek subjects who would not place themselves under its exclusive protection. This measure was carried out with great severity, and every steamer that left Constantinople for Syra was so crowded with Greeks, that it was impossible for them to walk the decks. Many—indeed, most of them—were, by this act of banishment, reduced to the depths of poverty, and would have to be placed on shore at the Piræus both destitute and friendless. The Turks also felt the inconvenience of the measure. More than thirty medical men—the most skilful in the capital of the sultan—took their departure; and many shops in Pera were shut up in consequence of the expulsion of their owners.

Redschid Pasha, the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, in forwarding to the Greek ambassador his passports, sent also a letter, justifying the conduct of the Porte in expelling the Greeks:—"It appears," said that document, "from positive proofs, that it is not through mere negligence, but through the toleration of the Greek government, that the frontier provinces of the empire have been just invaded." It added the following passages, which show, that although the Porte considered it necessary to proceed with severity against the Greeks, it did not act in a merciless spirit: "Orders have been given to the proper authorities to facilitate the departure of those Greek subjects who are poor or destitute, and to show as much indulgence as possible to those who are sick or infirm. It is my duty once more to repeat, that it is the Greek government alone which has created the necessity for this determination, and that the responsibility of it must rest entirely upon Greece."



To this note M. Metaxa replied by another, of an expostulatory character. In it he complained of cruelty, saying, that although he had desired for the Greeks established in Turkey a period of six months for them to wind up their affairs and quit the country, yet the Porte had reduced that term to fifteen days. He added: "There is a tribunal higher than either Greece or Turkey, whose judgments are unerring, and whose decrees are infallible. It is to this Supreme tribunal that Greece appeals; for to that alone it belongs to decide whether Greece and its government ought to be held responsible for the evil consequences of the existing state of things, because discontent has provoked the inhabitants of Epirus and Thessaly to revolt; and because, on this occasion, sympathies have been manifested in Greece favourable to a movement made by ec-religionists, by countrymen, and by relations."

The Turkish government did not escape censure on account of the course it had pursued; and it was reasoned that the Greeks were punished, in their private and mercantile interests, for offences committed by a court which they disliked. The edict of expulsion drove forth thousands of innocent and intelligent men, whose very subsistence depended on dwelling where alone they seemed able to obtain a market for their labour.

The expulsion of the Greeks from Constantinople had no effect on the government and people of independent Greece. Bodies of men and supplies of arms were continually sent across the frontier to the rebels of Thessaly and Epirus. Most of these men were little better than brigands, who plundered under the pretence of patriotism. They not only committed depredations on the property of the Turks, against whom they professed to have taken arms, but also robbed those of their own creed and nation. So well was this understood, that the Greek subjects of the Porte, in many places, bolted their doors and concealed their goods on the approach of the insurgents. At first these bands of robbers, in the name of liberty, being opposed only by isolated detachments, obtained some successes; but when they encountered corps of regular troops, they were invariably beaten, and obliged to fly to the mountains. Such was the ferocity of these men, that Grivas, one of their leaders, offered a pound of gunpowder and fifteen drachmas for a couple of

Turks' heads. During this time, King Otho showed an obstinacy that might have cost him his crown or even his life. He disregarded the advice given him, and asserted his belief that he was destined to liberate the Christians from the Ottoman rule.

The resolve of the sultan to drive the Greeks from Constantinople led to a serious difference between the Porte and General Baraguay d'Hilliers, then acting not only as a soldier, but as French ambassador at Constantinople. We have already mentioned that the French regarded themselves as the protectors of the Christians of the Roman church in the Turkish empire. The general, therefore, made a demand that all Greek Catholics should be excepted from the decree of expulsion, and that his guarantee for the good behaviour of the members of his own church should be considered sufficient. The animosity existing between the Greek and Latin churches is bitter in the extreme. As the former were known to lean towards Russia, the latter went to the other extreme, and made the most fervent expressions of loyalty to the Ottoman government. The French general pointed out this circumstance to Redsehîd Pasha, and insisted very strongly upon it to obtain the favour he demanded for the Greeks of the Roman church. After some hesitation the desire of the French ambassador was acceded to, though in a somewhat modified form. The Porte, however, repented of its partiality, and afterwards informed General Baraguay d'Hilliers that his request could not be granted. The French soldier was extremely indignant; he demanded the dismissal of the Turkish ministers, and threatened, if satisfaction was denied to him, to embark with his whole embassy and leave Constantinople within forty-eight hours. This incident might have produced untoward results, but for the discretion of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who supported the ministers of the sultan; and the French ambassador was finally pacified. The cause of quarrel was afterwards removed by an edict from the Porte, by which all the Greeks then at Constantinople, and not implicated in the insurrection, were permitted to remain. To prevent a repetition of this scene, General Baraguay d'Hilliers was recalled from Constantinople, and appointed to a command in the Baltic, where (as we have already related) he won distinction at the fall of Bomarsund.

The expulsion from Turkey of the Greeks was bitterly felt by that people, and regarded with indignation by King Otho and his government. The Greek minister for foreign affairs addressed the following circulars to the diplomatic agents of his government. They contain a Greek view of the insurrection and the difference with the Porte, and may be regarded as the defence of the free Greeks against the charges brought against them by the ministers of the sultan. We subjoin them, as necessary to assist the reader to an impartial judgment on the subject :—

“Athens, 5th (17th) April, 1854.

“Ministry of the Royal Household and of Foreign Affairs.

“Sir,—The disastrous measures which the Porte has just adopted against Greek subjects and their interests, as I have informed you in my despatch of this day, gave us without doubt the incontestible right of reprisal by means of analogous measures, without, at the same time, departing from the rules usually observed in similar cases.

“But it was repugnant to the king’s government to act thus, or, in imitation of the Porte, to injure the subjects of the Ottoman Porte, whom it could not reasonably consider as responsible for all the rigours committed in Turkey against our countrymen and our commercial navy.

“After the Sublime Porte had broken off the political and commercial relations between Greece and Turkey, and abruptly expelled our consular agents from the Ottoman territory, the government of the king could no longer permit the consular authorities of the Porte to continue in the exercise of their functions in Greece. But while giving to the prefects the order to withdraw the *exequatur*, and to signify to all those who belonged to that body, and who were invested with an official character, to quit the country, it has at the same time declared that Turkish subjects may continue to reside in the kingdom, and that the vessels under the Ottoman flag shall be received in Greek ports, in order to carry on freely their commercial operations, as before; and both are placed under the protection of the Hellenic laws.

“I have the honour to transmit to you herewith copies of the circular I have issued on the subject, and in which you will remark, among other things, the solicitude with which the government of the king recommends to its agents to afford all the assistance and facility in their power to Turkish subjects in the conduct of their affairs, as also to the Turkish flag.

“It is now for the nations of the civilised world to judge of the difference which exists in the conduct of the respective governments of

the two states. The king’s government has limited itself to doing what was strictly and absolutely necessary. It could not, and it ought not, to imitate the Porte in having recourse to measures which are reprobated by the spirit of modern civilisation, and also by the noble sentiments of the nation of which it is the organ.

“Receive, sir, the assurance of my high consideration, &c.

“A. ΠΑΙΚΟΣ.”

The following is the circular referred to in the above :—

“Athens, 5th (17th) April, 1854.

“Sir,—The Ottoman Porte has just adopted against us the most disastrous measures. You are already aware, sir, that the *chargé d’affaires* of the Ottoman Porte at Athens, not having found the answer sufficiently satisfactory which the king’s government gave to an *ultimatum* addressed to them on the subject, has quitted Greece, after having announced that the political relations between the two governments were broken off. In consequence of a proceeding so abrupt and so unexpected, the royal government could not keep any longer their minister at Constantinople. That functionary received, therefore, the order to demand, in turn, his passports, and to quit that capital with the members of the legation, leaving only the chancery for the arrangement of the commercial affairs, of more than 15,000 Greek subjects who reside there, and intrusting, as is usual in such cases, the protection of the Hellenic subjects to one of his colleagues. The government was all the more inclined to follow that course as Nessel Bey himself, on quitting Athens, confided the protection of Ottoman subjects to the ministers of France and Great Britain, and he did not declare that the consuls of the Porte in Greece should also quit their posts. You may therefore judge of our astonishment on learning that the Porte, on sending to M. Metaxas, the king’s minister at Constantinople, his passports, communicated to him at the same time, in its note of the 20th of March, that (to date from that day) all political and commercial relations between Greece and Turkey were broken off; that all the *employés* of the Greek chancery at Constantinople, as well as all the consuls of Greece in the Ottoman empire, must immediately quit; that all Greek subjects, without exception, must also leave Turkey within the term of fifteen days, at the expiration of which no ship bearing the Greek flag should any longer appear in the ports of Turkey. Independently of these measures, the Porte has intimated that it would recognise in no minister of the friendly powers accredited to it the right to protect Greek subjects, and to whom the king’s ministers might confide that care. The Porte has also constituted, of itself, a commission to settle arbitrarily the affairs of our countrymen within



the term of fifteen days, and to proceed to their expulsion.

"You may easily conceive, sir, the perturbation which measures of so serious a kind must have created in the commercial transactions of more than 15,000 persons established at Constantinople alone, without counting almost double the number of Greek subjects scattered throughout the Ottoman empire, all engaged in trade and industry, as well as the immense and incalculable loss which must be the result to them. It was in vain that the king's minister observed that in order to settle interests so extensive and so complicated as those of the Greek subjects residing in Turkey, a period of six months would scarce suffice. The Porte persisted in its resolution. In presence of such enormities, nothing was left for his majesty's minister but to quit Constantinople, protesting at the same time against conduct so unheard of and so indescribable, and leaving the commercial chancellery for some days only, in order to try to arrange as well as it could the various interests of our subjects, to facilitate their speedy departure, and to issue passports and prepare the papers of our ships. But scarcely was he gone when the police peremptorily ordered the consul, the director of the Hellenic chancellery, at once to close his office, and to stop all settlement of business. At the same time the commission instituted by the Porte ordered, in a proclamation posted up on the doors of the chancellery, all Greek subjects to present themselves before it for the settlement of their affairs, and forbidding them, under severe penalties, to have any intercourse with their chancellery. Thus, sir, in a few days, Greek subjects are violently expelled from the Turkish empire. The Greek flag can no more appear in the waters of that empire. The ruin of the fortunes of so many is consummated; and a great number of our countrymen will soon be reduced to misery.

"Such is the conduct we witness for the first time in the recent history of civilised countries. No nation in a state of war with another has ever acted in so outrageous a manner with the subjects of its enemy. In order to show all the animosity against Greece, as manifested in these exceptional measures of the Porte, I might refer to what has always been practised in similar cases between great and civilised nations. I could support my views by the recent example of France who, though at war with Russia, has nevertheless permitted Russian subjects to continue their residence in their country under the protection of French laws. But I content myself with comparing with those measures the conduct which the Porte itself has observed towards Russian subjects. The Porte has been for the last six months in a state of open war with Russia. Much blood, both on one side and the other, has been already shed on the field of battle; and yet not only has it not during that

time expelled Russian subjects from its empire, but even when at the last moment it thought it to be its duty to order them to quit the country, it granted them, for that purpose, a delay of some months, which delay, at a later period having been prolonged through the intervention of the internuncio of his majesty the Emperor of Austria, did not expire till the middle of April. Still more, during all that period they were placed, and actually remained, under the protection of the said internuncio, when scarcely 150 Russians were found to be residing at Constantinople.

"It may then be asked, why has the Porte shown itself towards Greece, with which it is not at war, much more severe than it has been towards Russia, its declared enemy? The reason, sir, is clear—it is because the Porte has, unfortunately, never forgotten what Greece was before she became free. That hostile disposition cannot be otherwise explained, which it has at all times manifested towards Greece, notwithstanding all the good-will which the Hellenic government has invariably shown, in order to render the relations between the two countries more and more friendly. For twenty years that royalty has existed in Greece, and that the independence of the Hellenic kingdom has been recognised by the Porte, it has never ceased to raise up against her every species of embarrassment, and to create obstacles to her service and her commerce in Turkey. Many times have Greek subjects had to suffer from the arbitrary conduct of its authorities in the provinces. It has refused to issue the *exequaturs* of a great number of our consuls, in order that our countrymen should be deprived of the protection absolutely requisite in Turkey, and it impeded the service of those it had been obliged to recognise. I have not now space enough to expose in detail all the wrongs the royal government has endured from the Porte. It will be sufficient to remind you that in two other instances it has again found occasion for harsh measures against our vessels and our merchants, by prohibiting the former from trading in its ports, excluding the others from the corporations of trade, and withdrawing their *exequaturs* from our consuls. It will be then easily understood how at this moment the Porte has seized eagerly on the pretext furnished it by the insurrection of Epirus and Thessaly to resume its arbitrary measures against us, with a force and severity all the greater that it believes it can do so freely and without any obstacle.

"I have said, sir, that the Porte sought a pretext for such conduct; for, after the answer given to the last note of its *chargé d'affaires*, its conduct cannot otherwise be explained. What, in fact, was demanded in the note of Neset Bey? To order some officers who, for the most part natives of the insurgent districts, left the kingdom to combat with those of the same reli-







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